

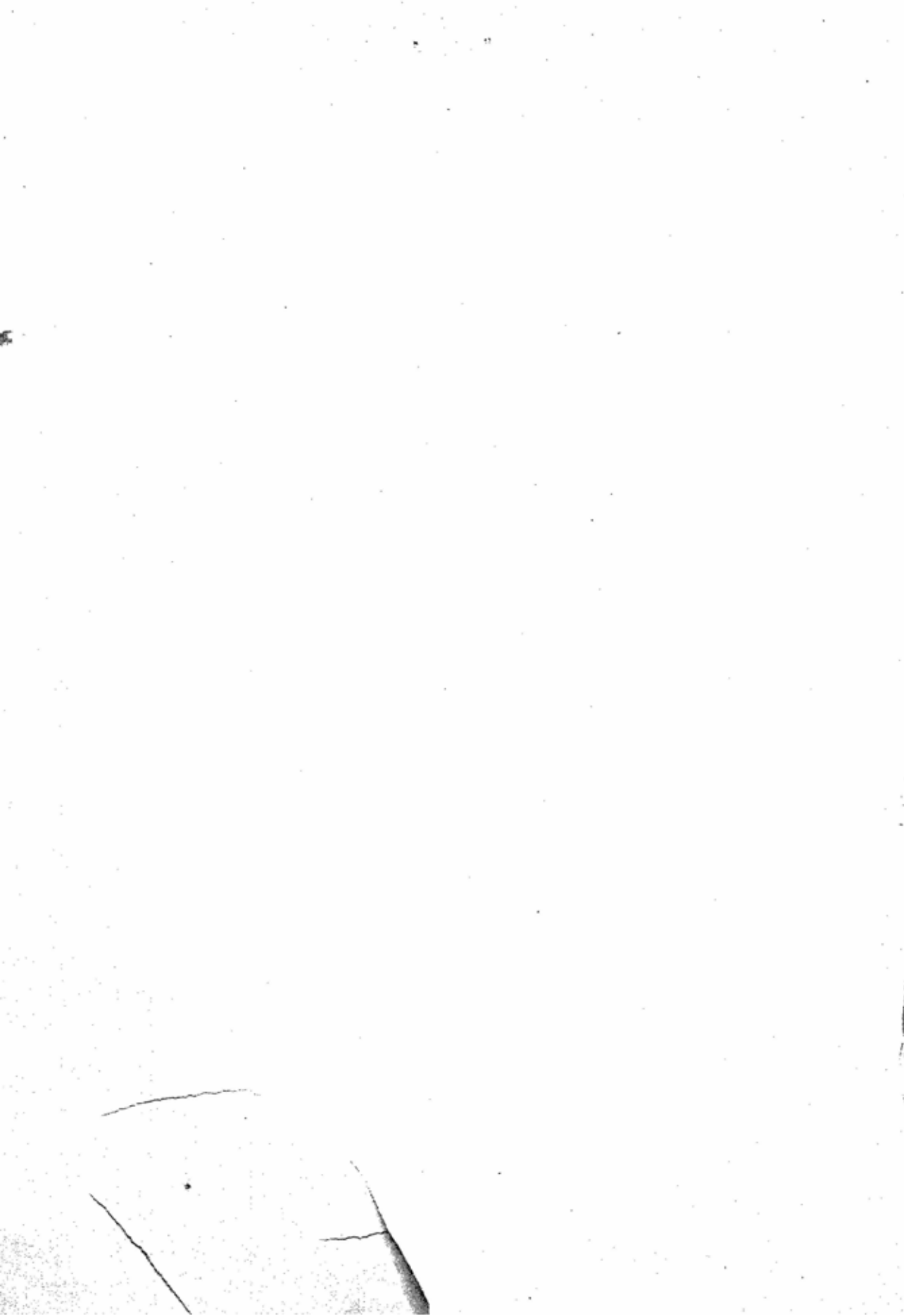
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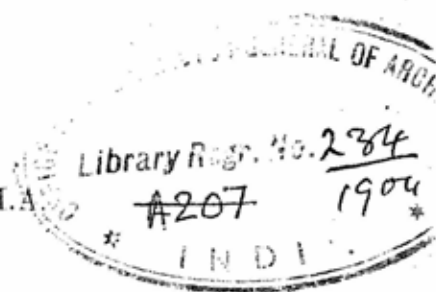
ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT

1896-1897

COMPRISING THE WORK OF THE
EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND AND THE PROGRESS OF
EGYPTOLOGY DURING THE YEAR 1896-7.

EDITED BY

F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A.



WITH MAPS.

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CONTENTS.



I. EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

	PAGE
A.—OXYRRHYNCHUS AND ITS PAPYRI . . . B. P. GRENFELL	1
B.—A THUCYDIDES PAPYRUS FROM OXYRRHYNCHUS . . . A. S. HUNT	13
C.—EXCAVATIONS AT DESHÂSHEH . . . W. M. F. PETRIE	21

II. PROGRESS OF EGYPTOLOGY.

A.—ARCHAEOLOGY, HIEROGLYPHIC STUDIES, ETC. F. LL. GRIFFITH	23
B.—GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT F. G. KENYON	57
C.—COPTIC STUDIES W. E. CRUM	63

MAPS OF EGYPT.

I.—EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

A.—OXYRHYNCHUS AND ITS PAPYRI.

I HAD for some time felt that one of the most promising sites in Egypt for finding Greek manuscripts was the city of Oxyrhynchus, the modern Behneseh, situated on the edge of the western desert 120 miles south of Cairo. Being the capital of the Nome, it must have been the abode of many rich persons who could afford to possess a library of literary texts. Though the ruins of the old town were known to be fairly extensive, and it was probable that most of them were of the Graeco-Roman period, neither town nor cemetery appeared to have been plundered for antiquities in recent times. Above all, Oxyrhynchus seemed to be a site where fragments of Christian literature might be expected of an earlier date than the fourth century, to which our oldest manuscripts of the New Testament belong; for the place was renowned in the fourth and fifth centuries on account of the number of its churches and monasteries, and the rapid spread of Christianity about Oxyrhynchus, as soon as the new religion was officially recognized, implied that it had already taken a strong hold during the preceding centuries of persecution.

The wished-for opportunity for digging at Oxyrhynchus offered itself last autumn, when leave was obtained for Professor Flinders Petrie and myself to excavate anywhere in the strip of desert, ninety miles long, between the Faiyûm and Minyeh. Behneseh was chosen for our headquarters, and work was begun there early in December by Professor Petrie, who, after making a preliminary survey of the site, and digging for a week, found that both the town and tombs belonged to the Roman period. So when I arrived on December 20th, accompanied by my colleague Mr. A. S. Hunt, Professor Petrie at once handed over the excavations at Behneseh to us, and himself left to explore the edge of the desert within the limits of the concession, ultimately settling down at the early Egyptian cemetery of Deshâsheh, forty miles to the north, with what success is related by himself elsewhere.

The ruins of Oxyrhynchus are eight miles west from Beni-Mazar, a

railway-station on the Nile, and are just inside the desert, separated on the east from the Bahr Yusuf by a narrow strip of cultivation. At a point some fifteen miles to the north the Libyan hills recede far back into the desert, and, not returning until far above Behneseh, form a bay like the entrance to the Hammâmât Valley at Koptos, so that to the west of Oxyrhynchus there is a broad flat plain stretching for six miles up to a series of low basalt hills, through which runs the road to the small oasis of Bahriyeh.

The area of the ancient town is $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, and in most parts $\frac{1}{2}$ mile broad, its modern representative, Behneseh, still occupying a small fraction of it on the east side. Though now consisting only of a few squalid huts and four picturesque but dilapidated mosques, it was an important place until mediæval times, and all the debris near the village, amounting to nearly half the whole site, is strewn with Arabic pottery. Its decline is doubtless due to its unprotected situation on the desert side of the Bahr Yusuf, which renders it exposed to frequent nocturnal raids by the Bedawîn, who have settled in large numbers along this part of the desert edge. One of these raids took place while we were there, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to get into our hut. Though an application addressed to Cairo resulted in measures being promptly taken to prevent our being troubled again, it is hardly surprising that the Behneseh *fellahîn* are gradually migrating to the rising village of Sandafeh on the opposite bank of the Bahr Yusuf.

Behneseh has, however, still a claim to distinction in its Arabic cemetery, the largest in the district, and a place of peculiar sanctity, owing to the number of *shêkhs* buried there, including a local saint of much repute, Dakrûri, whose tomb is a conspicuous object $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles off in the desert plain to the west. Numbers of these domed tombs are scattered about, chiefly on eminences, in the central part of the site, many of them containing ancient columns taken from the town; and most of the Arabic mounds immediately to the west and south-west of the village have been used for purposes of burial.

My first impressions on examining the site were not very favourable. As has been said, about half of it was Arabic; and, with regard to the other half, a thousand years' use as a quarry for limestone and bricks had clearly reduced the buildings and houses to utter ruin. In many parts of the site which had not been used as a depository for rubbish, especially to the north-west, lines of limestone chips or banks of sand marked the positions of buildings of which the walls had been dug out;

but of the walls themselves scarcely anything was left, except part of the town wall enclosing the north-west of the site, the buildings having been cleared away down to their foundations, or to within a few courses of them. It was obvious from the outset that the remains of the Roman city were not only much worse preserved than those of the Faiyûm towns which we had dug the year before, and in which most of the houses still had their walls partly standing, but that, if papyri were to be found, they must be looked for not in the shallow remains of houses, but in the rubbish mounds. These, of course, might cover buildings, but it was more probable that they would not; and there is a great difference between digging houses which after being deserted had simply fallen in and become covered with sand, and digging rubbish mounds. In the former there is always the chance of finding valuable things which have been left behind or concealed by the last occupants, such as a hoard of coins or a collection of papyrus rolls buried in a pot; while in rubbish mounds, since the objects found must have been thrown away deliberately, they were much less likely to be valuable, and were quite certain to be in much worse condition. The result of our excavations showed that I had been so far right in that the rubbish mounds were nothing but rubbish mounds; and the miscellaneous small *anticas* which we found are of little interest, while the number of papyri which are sufficiently well preserved to be of use was but trifling compared to the mass which is hopelessly fragmentary or defaced. Fortunately, however, the total find of papyri was so enormous that even the small residue of valuable ones forms a collection not only larger than any one site has hitherto produced, but probably equal to any existing collection of Greek papyri.

But before describing our excavations in the town I proceed to give some account of the cemetery, to which we devoted three weeks' work. We wished in the first place to continue the search for the ancient Egyptian cemetery of Oxyrhynchus which Professor Petrie had commenced, and secondly to explore the Graeco-Roman cemetery which he had found immediately to the west of the old town. Though the great majority of papyri have hitherto been recovered from town ruins, the finest literary Greek rolls have been found buried in their owners' tombs; and, further, in a cemetery of the Ptolemaic period there is always the chance of mummy-cases made of papyri, such as Professor Petrie found at Garob; for the practice of using up old documents in this way was by no means confined to the Faiyûm, but was probably common all over Egypt, at any rate in the third century B.C.

Our hopes in this direction, however, were destined to be soon dashed. The Egyptians generally buried their dead in high ground near the edge of the desert, though often for greater security they went further back into the hills. But there were no hills nearer to Oxyrhynchus than the basalt range six miles off, which is much too hard to be suitable for rock tombs, and the intervening plain contains scarcely a rise; so that the Roman cemetery was necessarily placed in the low ground outside the town, with the result that the tombs were nearly all affected more or less by damp. Very many of them had, as usual, been plundered anciently, and most of the remainder were not earlier than the third century A.D. Some of these were mere narrow slits two or three feet deep, but the greater number ranged from six to ten feet in depth. The body was not buried inside a coffin, but was placed between two rows of squared limestone blocks, one or two courses high, and another row of blocks was placed on these as a lid. These limestone blocks seem in some cases to have been taken from other tombs than those in which they were found, sometimes from buildings in the town. One of them, turned face downwards as the lid, was inscribed . . .] *ιατρον βιωσας ικβ ευθουμι*, and three other inscribed tombstones were found.

Occasionally there were two or three layers of limestone blocks forming the lid; sometimes there were layers at intervals in the filling of the tomb, the highest being just under the surface; and in a few instances the stones forming the lid were placed against each other at an angle. The bodies were as a rule not mummified nor ornamented in any way. Mummy tablets were not used; but in their stead the name and age of the deceased was frequently found scrawled on a piece of pottery, or sometimes on a complete amphora, which was thrown into the filling. In a few graves we found short limestone figures, from a half to a third life-size, carved in relief on a large block, and originally painted. These figures appear to have been representations of the deceased; but to judge from the battered condition of most of them, and from the position in which they were found—half way down the filling or turned face downwards as one of the stones covering the body—they seemed in no case to belong to the tomb in which they were discovered. The same applies also to two much-damaged gryphons and a criosphynx of limestone which were discovered in these graves. In one tomb we found a thin gold necklace, bracelet, and ring; and in another a small gold tongue-plate.

Among these third century and later tombs were a few apparently earlier ones which had not been plundered, all of them being plain

pit tombs eight to twelve feet deep with no chambers. In two of these the mummies had a head and breast piece of painted plaster, but this crumbled to pieces as soon as touched owing to the damp, which had also proved fatal to a few wreaths which were found, and to wooden coffins. One tomb contained the mummies of a woman and two children; and in place of the heart of all three there was a little mud charm wrapped up in a bit of papyrus containing second century accounts, but too much decayed to be worth anything. Another tomb, containing two mummies buried in plain limestone coffins, which had been opened previously, produced two bronze figures of Osiris, probably of the late Ptolemaic period.

Nor were we much more successful in our search for the ancient Egyptian cemetery of Oxyrhynchus. To the west and north of the Roman cemetery, which stretches for $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the tomb of Dakrûri northwards parallel with the town, we were unable to find more ancient tombs; but a low ridge, running south for 200 yards between a group of *shêkhs'* tombs just outside the town ruins on the road to Dakrûri's tomb and the modern Coptic cemetery, contained a late Pharaonic cemetery. From these tombs a square shaft, or sometimes an irregular pit, eight to twelve feet deep, led to rude chambers hollowed out of the pebbly *gebel*, generally on the east and west sides, sometimes on the north and south. They had, of course, been plundered long ago, being so near the town. Fragments of painted coffins and mummies were frequent, and nearly all the tombs contained quantities of small glazed pottery beads of various colours, which Professor Petrie assigns to the period of the XXIIInd Dynasty. In one tomb a few eye amulets and some larger glass beads were found, and in another a quantity of small mud *ushabtis* which had been painted blue. The *gebel* being extremely soft in this part, much of the roof had as a rule fallen in, and excavating was sometimes not unattended with the danger of a collapse. The cemetery seems to have been re-used in Graeco-Roman times; for in one case among the stones built round the top of the shaft was a stele, probably of the Ptolemaic period, representing a man offering to Anubis, and between the plundered tombs were some untouched burials of the Roman period, which, like those in the northern cemetery, were affected by damp. The mummies fell to powder on being touched, and nothing of interest was found in them except another gold tongue-plate. After devoting three weeks to the cemetery we resolved to start upon the town.

The ancient rubbish mounds are low, nowhere rising to more than

thirty-five feet in height. Some of them are isolated, others connected by ridges into irregular groups. There were no particular indications of the site of the more important buildings, except a large space covered with limestone chips, near the road leading to the tomb of Dakrûri. The stone building which once stood there was probably a late Ptolemaic or early Roman temple, almost equal in size to that of Denderah, and facing towards the west. The banked-up chips on the west side of it probably represent the entrance pylons, a deep depression in the middle the great court, and the mounds of chips at the east the naos and other chambers. In two or three places parts of the massive outer walls are left; but to clear the scanty remains of this temple would be a season's work, and a very unprofitable one, considering the extent to which the walls have been dug out.

As this was by far the largest building traceable, we started work upon the town on January 11th by setting some seventy men and boys to dig trenches through a low mound on the outside of the site, a little to the north of the supposed temple. The choice proved a very fortunate one, for papyrus scraps at once began to come to light in considerable quantities, varied by uncial fragments and occasional complete or nearly complete official and private documents. Later in the week Mr. Hunt, in sorting the papyri found on the second day, noticed on a crumpled piece of papyrus, written on both sides in uncial characters, the Greek word *KAPΦOC* ("mote"), which at once suggested to him the verse in the Gospels about the mote and the beam. A further examination showed that the passage in the papyrus really was the conclusion of the verse in question, but that the rest of the writing differed considerably from the Gospels, and was, in fact, a leaf out of a book containing a collection of Christ's sayings, some of which were new. The following day Mr. Hunt identified another uncial fragment as containing most of the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. The evidence both of the handwriting and of the dated papyri with which they were found makes it certain that neither the "Logia" nor the St. Matthew fragment were written later than the third century A.D.; and they are therefore a century older than the oldest manuscripts of the New Testament. It is not improbable that they were the remains of a library belonging to some Christian who perished in the persecution during Diocletian's reign, and whose books were then thrown away. By a happy freak of fortune we had thus within a week of excavating in the town lit upon two examples of the kind of papyri which we most desired to find.

Since this rubbish mound had proved so fruitful I proceeded to

increase the number of workmen gradually up to 110, and, as we moved northwards over other parts of the site, the flow of papyri soon became a torrent which it was difficult to cope with. Each lot found by a pair, man and boy, had to be kept separate; for the knowledge that papyri are found together is frequently of the greatest importance for determining their date, and since it is inevitable that so fragile a material should sometimes be broken in the process of extricating it from the closely-packed soil, it is imperative to keep together, as far as possible, fragments of the same document. We engaged two men to make tin boxes for storing the papyri, but for the next ten weeks they could hardly keep pace with us.

As I had anticipated, the remains of houses in the low ground between and outside the rubbish mounds were too shallow to be worth digging, and the rubbish mounds proved to cover very few traces of walls, much less any complete building. The papyri were, as a rule, not very far from the surface; in one patch of ground, indeed, merely turning up the soil with one's boot would frequently disclose a layer of papyri, and it was seldom that we found even tolerably well-preserved documents at a greater depth than ten feet. The explanation is that the damp soaking up from below, owing to the rise of the Nile bed, has proved fatal to what papyri there may have been in the lower levels. It was not uncommon to find at two or three feet from the surface in the lower parts of mounds rolls which had been hopelessly spoiled by damp.

The mounds divided themselves roughly into three classes: those on the outside of the site producing first to early fourth century papyri, those near the village being of the mediaeval Arabic period, while the intermediate ones chiefly produced papyri of the Byzantine period, varied occasionally by earlier ones or by Arabic papyri of the eighth and ninth centuries. The old town, founded probably on the river-bank where the modern village stands, thus reached its widest extent in the Roman period, and has been contracting ever since. As a rule, the papyri found in one mound tended to be within a century or two of each other; and where a mound had several layers of papyri at different depths, the difference of date between the highest and the lowest was generally not very marked, though two of the highest mounds had a layer of Byzantine papyri on the top and another of second to third century lower down. Some cases where a mound was of a composite character, i.e. where it really contained two or three smaller mounds heaped up at different periods and then all covered over by later rubbish, produced

rather curious anomalies. One of these composite mounds had in one part of it early first-century A.D. papyri quite close to the surface; a few yards distant, but in the same mound, papyri five or six centuries later were found at a much greater depth.

The papyri tended to run in layers rather than to be scattered through several feet of rubbish, and as a rule were associated with the particular kind of rubbish composed largely of pieces of straw and twigs which the natives call *afsh*. It was not infrequent to find large quantities of papyri together, especially in three mounds, where the mass was so great that these finds most probably represent part of the local archives thrown away at different periods. It was the custom in Egypt to store up carefully in the government record offices at each town official documents of every kind dealing with the administration and taxation of the country; and to these archives even private individuals used to send letters, contracts, &c., which they wished to keep. After a time, when the records were no longer wanted, a clearance became necessary, and many of the old papyrus rolls were put in baskets or on wicker trays and thrown away as rubbish. In the first of these "archive" mounds, of which the papyri belonged to the end of the first and beginning of the second century, we sometimes found not only the contents of a basket all together, but baskets themselves full of papyri. Unfortunately, it was the practice to tear most of the rolls to pieces first, and of the rest many had naturally been broken or crushed in being thrown away, or had been subsequently spoiled by damp, so that the amount discovered which is likely to be of use, though large in itself, bears but a small proportion to what the whole amount might have been. In the second find of archives the papyri belonged to the latter part of the third or early part of the fourth century, and several of them are large official documents which are likely to be of more than usual interest. The third and by far the greatest find, that of the Byzantine archives, took place on March 18th and 19th, and was, I suppose, a "record" in point of quantity. On the first of these two days we came upon a mound which had a thick layer consisting almost entirely of papyrus rolls. There was room for six pairs of men and boys to be working simultaneously at this storehouse, and the difficulty was to find enough baskets in all Behneseh to contain the papyri. At the end of the day's work no less than thirty-six good-sized baskets were brought in from this place, several of them stuffed with fine rolls three to ten feet long, including some of the largest Greek rolls I have ever seen. As the baskets were required for the next day's work, Mr. Hunt and I started

at 9 p.m. after dinner to stow away the papyri in some empty packing-cases which we fortunately had at hand. The task was only finished at three in the morning, and on the following night we had a repetition of it, for twenty-five more baskets were filled before the place was exhausted.

This was our last great find of papyri. We had by this time tried all the mounds of the Roman and Byzantine periods, and dug the most fruitful part of them. The low ground, with the exception of a patch to the west of the large stone building, did not yield papyri, and some of the rubbish mounds consisted entirely of ashes, while others, especially the southern mounds, did not contain the right sort of earth for finding papyri. We continued the excavations, however, for nearly a month longer, being engaged in finishing less productive ground which we had temporarily passed over, and investigating the Arabic mounds. Our search for Arabic papyri opened auspiciously with a large find of rolls in the first hour, but afterwards complete Arabic papyri became very rare, though Arabic paper was plentiful. Much of the Arabic ground could not be dug owing to the number of burials in it.

The miscellaneous *anticas* other than papyri which we found were not remarkable, nor are rubbish mounds the places for discovering complete objects of any size or great value. Broken ostraca, chiefly Byzantine, were frequent, complete ones (second century to Arabic) rare, except for a find of 150 together, which are nearly all very clearly written and well preserved. Of this find all but two or three are orders for payment of wine to various persons connected with horses and racing, addressed by a certain Cyriacus or Cyracus about the time of Diocletian. I give a copy of one as a specimen.

Κυρακὸς Θε-	"Cyracus to Theon greeting.
-ωνι χα(ίρειν). δὸς Ἀμμω-	Give Ammon the
-νι ἱπποκόμῳ ἡμε-	groom one jar (1 jar) of wine for
-ρῶν ἐ οἶνον κεραμι-	five days from
-ον ἔν, κερ/ α, Φαρ-	Pharmouthi 1st to
-μοῦθι α ἕως ε.	the 6th. Signed
Κυρακὸς σεσ(ημεῖωμαι).	Cyracus."

The coins, most of which require much cleaning before they can be made out, are being examined by Mr. J. G. Milne, who reports provisionally that there are about 40 early empire bronze, about 100 later empire billon, and 300 fourth century bronze and 100 Byzantine bronze, besides many pieces which are worn smooth.

More interesting than the coins are a large number of lead tokens of local manufacture, stamped with various designs. The object of these tokens, similar examples of which exist in the British Museum, is uncertain. It has been conjectured that they were used as theatre tickets.

Many inscribed amphorae and clay jar-stoppers were found, most of them Byzantine, and a few wooden tablets and a charm written on lead. A few small glass bottles, wrapped up in cloth and sealed, had escaped being broken, as had some terra-cotta figures and glazed amulets. Judging by the number of dice found, the Oxyrhynchites seem to have been inveterate gamblers. Bronze, ivory, and bone pins, and other toilet instruments, such as mirrors, were common, as well as bronze and iron knives, chisels and other tools, and of course beads, pens, and lamps, and wooden objects of various kinds.

At the end of March we were joined by Mr. H. V. Geere, who had been assisting Professor Petrie, and Mr. J. E. Quibell paid us a visit on his way to Cairo, after finishing his work at El Kab. Both these gentlemen gave us much assistance in making boxes for the *anticas*, and completing the survey of the site. We concluded the excavations on April 15th, and despatched the packing-cases, of which the papyri filled twenty-five, to Cairo. One hundred and fifty of the largest and best preserved rolls, and some specimens of the miscellaneous *anticas*, were retained for the Gizeh Museum. The rest of the collection reached England at the beginning of June. As our first task was to publish the "Logia" fragment, we have not yet had time to unroll, much less to examine in detail, more than about an eighth part of the whole. We can therefore only give a quite general account of it, based for the most part on my impressions at the time of discovery, and on Mr. Hunt's rough examination of the papyri as he packed them away in the tin boxes.

The papyri range in date from the Roman conquest of Egypt to the tenth century, when papyrus gave way as a writing material to paper. We made great efforts to find Ptolemaic papyri, especially in the mounds where first century A.D. documents were found, but without success. The records of Ptolemaic Oxyrhynchus seem to have disappeared as completely as the Ptolemaic remains of Hermopolis, Arsinoe, and the other Faiyûm towns, which have produced so many papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods. In fact, nearly all Ptolemaic papyri which have not been found in tombs have come from Memphis, Thebes, or Crocodilopolis of the Thebaid (near Gebelén), sites which, after the Ptolemies, either were not inhabited or dwindled into unimportance. In the case of the other sites, which reached their greatest extent and summit

of prosperity during the Roman period, the houses and rubbish mounds of the Ptolemaic period seem to have been either swept away altogether, or to be below the level at which the soil is dry enough for papyrus to be preserved.

Dismissing some hundred thousands of practically useless fragments, and confining ourselves only to those papyri which are likely to be of real value, our estimate is as follows. By far the greatest part of the Oxyrhynchus collection is written in *Greek*. There are about 300 literary pieces, either classical or theological, ranging from ten lines to as many columns in length, mostly belonging to the first three centuries A.D., but including some fragments of vellum manuscripts of the Byzantine period. Out of the 300 pieces about half are pretty certainly Homeric. The remainder covers almost the whole field of Greek literature, including fragments of epic, lyric, elegiac, tragic and comic poets, orators, historians, writers of romances, philosophers, and parts of treatises on metre, geometry, medicine, grammar, &c., together with fragments of early Christian writings of various kinds. The non-literary documents number about 2000, and are spread fairly evenly over the first seven centuries A.D. They present an immense variety of contents. Proclamations, wills, leases, contracts, official and private correspondence, petitions, loans, public and private accounts, prayers, horoscopes, magical formulae, receipts, orders for payment, taxing and census lists and returns, accounts of judicial proceedings: in short, specimens of almost everything that was committed to writing with regard to civil and military administration, trade, taxation, and private affairs, from an imperial edict to the private memoranda of a *fellah*, are found in the collection.

There is a sprinkling of *Latin* papyri, perhaps about thirty, some of which are literary; and there are some pieces of vellum manuscripts. We have identified a fragment of the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Of *Hieratic* and *Demotic* we noticed hardly anything; not more than two or three papyri are likely to be of use.

The proportion of *Coptic* papyri is, considering the large quantity of Byzantine documents found, remarkably small. In the great find of the Byzantine archives we did not notice a single Coptic roll, and the mounds in which the Arabic papyri were found produced as much Greek as Coptic, while the later Arabic mounds produced almost exclusively Arabic paper. Probably not more than forty or fifty documents are likely to be of value, together with some fragments of theological manuscripts on papyrus and vellum. It seems clear that Coptic was not much

written at Oxyrhynchus. Those Coptic papyri which we have are mostly rather early, i.e. fifth or sixth century.

There are about 100 fairly well preserved *Arabic* papyrus rolls, presumably seventh to tenth century, and about three times that amount of mediaeval Arabic paper.

Subject to adequate financial support being given to the new Graeco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund, our scheme for editing the papyri, including those left at Cairo, the publication of which is reserved for us, is as follows. We propose to publish in full only the more interesting papyri, giving a detailed description of the others. We hope to issue yearly a volume of not less than 300 pages quarto, with facsimiles. The first volume, which will be probably issued next summer, will be of a miscellaneous character, illustrating the variety of the collection. After that the papyri will be edited, as far as possible, chronologically, beginning with the first century, to which some of the finest rolls belong. Each volume will contain about twenty literary pieces, other than Homer. Among those which will be included in the first volume are the third century St. Matthew fragment already mentioned, a leaf from an early vellum manuscript containing the Acts of Paul and Thecla, portions of a poem in Sapphic metre, probably by Sappho herself, fragments of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Isocrates' *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως*, Plato's *Republic*, Xenophon's *Hellenica*, Demosthenes' *προσέμια δημογραφικά*, part of a treatise on metre (perhaps by Aristoxenus, the chief early authority on this subject), a considerable portion of a chronological work giving the dates of the principal events from 356 to 316 B.C., a fragment containing about fifty lines of a lost comedy, a lengthy proclamation by Flavius Titianus, praefect of Egypt in the time of Hadrian, a report of an interview between the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and a magistrate of Alexandria, and a roll giving a list of the quarters and streets of Oxyrhynchus, and of the guards attached to them, in the fourth century A.D.

May I conclude by expressing a hope that the success which has attended the first efforts of the Fund in this comparatively unworked field, may meet with recognition sufficient to secure the speedy publication of the papyri obtained, and also to prosecute further researches?

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.

B.—A THUCYDIDES PAPYRUS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS.

THE papyrus containing the following fragment of the fourth book of Thucydides (chs. 36-41) is one of those found at Oxyrhynchus last winter. As it affords by far the oldest evidence for the text that we possess, its value for critical purposes is obvious. It therefore seemed desirable to produce it at the earliest opportunity, instead of including it, as had been intended, in the first volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, which will be published next year. It will also thus become available for the use of Dr. Karl Hude, whose edition of Thucydides, based on a re-collation of the MSS., will shortly make its appearance.

The five chapters in question comprise the well-known passage describing the final scene on the island of Sphacteria, when a Spartan garrison—to the amazement of the Greek world—surrendered to a landing party of Athenians, under the command of Cleon the demagogue.

The fragment, which measures $10 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ ins., contains the greater part of three columns, consisting of from fifty to fifty-two lines each. The hand is a small, rather irregular uncial, of a decidedly early type; it may, I think, be probably assigned to the first century A.D. Other marks of age, apart from the formation of the hand-writing, are the decided slope of the columns to the right, the regular use of the iota adscript, and the absence of accents, breathings, and marks of elision. A character like an angular bracket (>) is occasionally used as a supplement at the end of a short line (e.g. I. 1, 26; II. 38); and the *paragraphus* is frequently employed to mark off the sentences, which are also commonly divided from each other by blank spaces left between them. Otherwise lection signs are rare. An accent and a breathing occur once in conjunction (I. 2); there is a single instance of the diaeresis over an initial υ (III. 20); and the high point has in two cases been used at the end of a line to denote a pause. Very possibly these are all subsequent additions, as may also be the marks, presumably possessing some critical significance, which are of frequent occurrence in the margin.

The text is rendered peculiarly interesting by the presence of a considerable number of double readings. Of these the majority are certainly by the original scribe, and may be explained either as traditional *variae lectiones*, or—though perhaps less probably—as the result of the use of more than one manuscript by the copyist, who was careful in cases of

disagreement to record alternatives. The other variants, which may be regarded rather as corrections, seem to be due to a second (probably rather later) hand, which however is in type very similar to the first and with difficulty distinguishable from it. To this second hand I should attribute the additions in I. 10, III. 3, and the insertion, where it has occurred, of final ν . Possibly II. 22, 43, and III. 2 should be included in the same class, but this cannot be done with any approach to certainty.

So much for the technical preliminaries. We may now pass on to a brief consideration of the importance for textual criticism of the recovery of this fragment. In the first place, it contains a few original readings which may be accepted as distinct improvements upon those of previously known manuscripts: e.g. the omission of $\delta\tau\iota$ at the beginning of ch. 37, whereby the anacoluthon is removed, and the insertion of $\tau\iota\varsigma$ after $\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in ch. 39. There are, further, some interesting variations of spelling which are no doubt more consistent with classical Attic orthography than are our mediaeval versions. But it will be observed that all these peculiar variants are comparatively slight in character: there is no case of a really startling difference between the papyrus and the text to which we are accustomed. And this fact leads directly to a second reason for attaching especial value to this discovery. It has been maintained by some critics, and with no little plausibility, that Thucydides has suffered in a peculiar degree at the hands of scribes and annotators. Our MSS. have been characterized as utterly bad, presenting a text which has reached the last stage of corruption. We now possess for the first time sufficient proof that the text of the historian in the first century A.D. was in essential respects identical with what has been handed down to us by the MSS. of the middle ages. It cannot be contended that this fragment is too small to be really conclusive, for it fortunately comprises a number of passages where interpolation had been suspected. If, therefore, the supposed vitiation took place at all, it must have been confined to a much shorter period than could be postulated hitherto. And is it not somewhat remarkable that the alleged process of accretion and corruption, after proceeding to such lengths during the first three centuries of transmission, should have suddenly stopped short, or nearly short, in the fourth?

This evidence for the text of Thucydides is quite in accordance with our evidence for those of other classical Greek writers. As the number of early papyri on which these are represented increases, the clearer does it become in how small a degree the tradition has suffered since the

commencement of our era. How far changes may have been introduced before that time is another question. To all appearances the Homeric texts read in Egypt in the third century B.C. were very different from our vulgate; and the *Phaedo* and *Laches* fragments belonging to the same period proved for the text of Plato the existence of a tradition varying to a certain extent from that which has descended to us. In a text of the third Epistle of Demosthenes attributed to the second century B.C., the variations, though considerable, are much less marked. But of these Homer, of course, stands rather apart; and as for Plato, the critics have been unable to agree whether or no the readings of the papyri are to be preferred to those of the Codex Bodleianus. The Demosthenes fragment may be a safer guide to the average degree of deterioration during the earliest period of transmission. But naturally the works of different authors have been subject to different conditions. The evidence upon this question is as yet insufficient; we can but hope for fresh discoveries to supplement it.

The text of the papyrus is reproduced as it stands in the original, except for the division of words. The accompanying collation is based upon Bekker's Berlin edition of 1821, from which the supplements (inclosed in square brackets) have also been made.

TEXT.

COL. I.

	[δο]υς της νησου προσβαι >>
	[ν]ων και η̃ οι λακεδαιμο
	[ν]ι οι χωριου ·τι· ισχυι πιστευ
	[σα]ντες ουκ εφυλα ^{σσ} τ'·ον χαλε
5	[π]ως τε και μο ^γ λ'·ις περιελθων
	[ε]λαθε και επι του μετεωρου
	[ε]ξαπινης αναφανε[ι]ς κατα
	νωτου αυτων το[υς] μεν τωι α
	δοκητω[ι] εξεπληξε τους δε
10	[α] προσεδεχοντο ιδοντες πολ ^α

COL. I.

1. προσβαινων: so vulg.; προβαίνων, Bekk. with Bdg.
3. There seems to be no variation in the MSS. which would explain the deleted τι.
4. εφυλαττον: for a similar alteration of ττ to σσ cf. l. 38; Bekk. reads εφύλασσαν.
5. μολ'ις: v.l. μογ'ις; μόλις, Bekk., with the MSS.
10. ιδοντες was of course a slip; the correction seems to be by the second hand.

COL. I.

- [λ]ωι μαλλον ε[π]ερ[ρ]ωσε και
 [οι] λακεδαιμ[ονιοι] βαλλομε
 [ν]οι τε αμφοτ[ερ]ωθε[ν] η[δ]η
 [κ]αι γιγνομεν[οι] εν τωι αυτωι
 15 [ξ]υμπτωματι ως μεικρον
 [μ]εγαλω[ι] εικασαι τω[ι] εν [θε]ρ
 [μ]οπυλαι[ς] ε[κει]νοι τε γαρ
 [τ]ηι ατραπωι π[ερ]ιελθοντων
 [τ]ων περσ[ω]ν διεφθαρσα[ν] ου
 20 [τοι] τε αμφ[ι]βο[λοι] ηδ[η] ου[τε]ς
 [ου]κετι αν[τειχο]ν [α]λλ[α] π[ο]λ[οι]
 [λοι]ς τε ολι[γοι] μαχ[ο]μεν[οι]
 [κ]α[ι] ασ[θενειαι] σωμα
 [τω]ν δια τη[ν] σιτ[ο]δειαν υ
 25 [πε]χωρουν [και οι α]θηναιοι [ε]
 [κρ]ατου^βν ηδ[η] των^α εφοδων >
 [γ]νους δε ο [κλε]ω[ν] και ο δημο
 [σθ]ενης ει κ[αι] ο[πο]σσουν μαλ.
 [λο]ν ενδωσ[ο]υσ[ι] διαφθαρσο^α
 30 [μ]ενους αυτους υπο της σφε
 [τε]ρας στρατ[ι]ας επαυσαν την
 [μ]αχην και τους εαυτων απειρ
 [ξ]αν βουλομενοι αγαγειν

Col. I.

15. μεικρον: cf. for the spelling σπλειται in II. 42; μικρόν, Bekk.
 16. μεγαλω εικασαι or μεγαλωι ικασαι are equally possible readings. Only very slight traces remain of the two letters transcribed as ει in εικασαι, and with this reading there is barely room in the lacuna for the iota adscript of μεγαλωι. There is, however, no other instance in the fragment of its omission.
 23. ασθενειαι: the supplement hardly fills the lacuna, in which there would be room for two or three more letters. But the scribe is not sufficiently regular to make it likely that there was any variation from the MSS. reading.
 25. κρατου^βν ηδ[η] των^α: the letters β and α, which have been added above these two words, indicate that their order could be reversed. ηδ[η] is omitted in d and i. A letter (? α) has been crossed out after αθηναιοι.
 28. It is remarkable that the superfluous ^δει before ει, which is found in the MSS. and read by Bekk., is omitted in the papyrus, which thus bears out the view of H. Stephanus (*Append. ad Script. de Dialect.*, p. 77), and others.
 29. ενδωσουςι: on the analogy of l. 26 there should here be an overwritten β to correspond with the α above ενδωσουςι. Probably it has been lost in the lacuna at the beginning of the line, in which case the meaning was that μαλλον and ενδωσουςι might change places.

Col. I.

- 35 [αυ]τ^ους [α]θηναίους ζώντας
 [ε]ι πως [τ]ου κηρυγματος ακου
 σαιτες [ε]πικλασθειεν τη
 γνωμη τα οπλα παραδου
 ναι και η^{σσ}ττ^σηθειεν του παρ
 40 [ον]τος δειν[ο]υ εκηρυξαν τε
 [ει βο]υλονται τα οπλα παραδου
 ναι κα[ι] σφας αυτους αθηнай
 οis ωστε βουλευσαι οti αν εκει
 νοis δοκηι οι δε ακουσαιτες
 45 [πα]ρηκαν τας ασπιδας οι πλει
 [στοι] και τας χειρας ανεσεισαν
 [δηλου]ντ[ε]ς προσιεσθαι τα κε
 [κηρυγμ]ενα μετα δε
 [ταυτα γεν]ομενης της αν^οα^ο
 50 [κωχης ξυ]νη[λ]θο[ν] ε[ς] λο
 [γους ο τε κλεων και ο δη]μο
 [σθενης
 [προ]

Col. II.

- τερ^οω^ον αρχοντων του μεν
 πρωτου τ[ε]θν[η]κοτος επιταδου
 ./. του δε μετ αυτον ιππαγρετ[ο]υ
 ε^{εν}
 εφηρημενου εν τοis νεκροis ε
 5 ./. τι ζωντος κειμενου ως τε
 θν^εη^ηωτος αυτος τριτος εφ^ηει^η

Col. I.

38. ηττηθειεν: the dot after the second τ has been effaced. For the alternative spelling cf. l. 4.

40. βουλονται: βούλαιντο, MSS., Bekk.

48. ανακωχης: so Bekk. with the MSS.; the second spelling ανακοχης is correct.

Col. II.

1. προτερον: so MSS., Bekk. προτερων was an easy mistake.

4. εφηρημενου: so the MSS. Of the overwritten letters the υ is uncertain; possibly 'ει' should be read (cf. l. 6); or possibly an original ει has been converted (by the second hand?) into εν.

6. τεθνεωτος: the original spelling τεθνηωτος was perhaps due to a reminiscence of τεθνηκοτος in l. 2. εφηρημενος: so Bekk. with the MSS.; εφειρημενος was the commoner spelling in the third and second centuries B.C.

COL. II.

30 κτα εν φυλακη ειχον αυτους
 /// οι αθηναιοι τη δ υστε
 ραιαι οι μεν αθηναιοι τροπαι
 ον στη[σα]ντες εν τη νησωι
 ταλλα διεσκευαζοντο ως
 35 ες πλουν και τους ανδρας τοις
 τριηραρχοις διεδοσαν ες
 φυλακην οι δε λακεδαιμο
 νιοι κηρυκα πεμφαντες >
 τους νεκρους διεκομισα[ντο
 40 απεθανον δ εν τη νησωι
 και ζωντες εληφθησαν το
 σοιδε εικοσι μεν οπλειται
 οι
 διεβησαν και τετρακοσιοι παν
 τες τουτων ζωντες εκομι
 45 σθησαν οκτω απο[δ]εοντες
 τριακοσιοι οι δε αλλοι απεθα
 ν[ον και σπα]ρτιαται τουτων
 η[σαν των] ζωντων περι
 ε[ικοσι και εκ]ατον αθηναιων
 50 [δε ου πολλοι δ]ιεφθαρησαν η

COL. III.

[] επολιορκηθησαν απο της ναυμαχιας]
 μεχρι της [εν τη νησωι
 δαια
 γαρ μαχη ου σταδ[ια] ην χρο
 νος δε ο ξυμπας εγενετο οσον
 ανω
 ο οι ανδρες εν τη νησωι μαχης

Col. II.

36. διεδοσαν: so KN; εδίδουσαν, di; διεδίδουσαν, Bekk.

42. οπλειται: cf. μεικρον, I. 15.

43. οι, here inserted above the line, is read by Bekk. with most MSS. (om. Qe).

Its omission after τετρακοσιοι would be peculiarly easy.

Col. III.

1. σταδια is read by Bekk. with the MSS. The variant σταδαia may be right.

The forms στάδιος, σταδαίος and σταδιαίος are frequently confused in MSS.

2. ξυμπας: the scribe first wrote ξυμβας; β has been crossed out and π written above it.

3. ανδρες εν: so f; ανδρες οι εν, Bekk. with the other MSS.

The accidental omission before μαχης of the words επολιορκηθησαν απο της ναυμαχιας μέχρι της εν τη νησωι was of course due to the recurrence of εν τη

Col. III.

- 5 ^ε εβδομηκοντα ημεραι και δυο
 τούτων περι εικοσι ημερας εν
 αἰς οἱ πρέσβεις περι των σπον
 δων απηι'εσαν εσιτοδοτουν
 το τας δ' αλλας τοις εσπλε
 10 οῦσι λαθραι διετρεφοντο και
 ην σιτος τις εν τη νησωι
 και αλλα βρωματα ενκατελει^{λη}
 φθη ο γαρ αρχων επιτα
 δης ενδεεστερωσ εκαστωι
 15 παρειχε^ν η προς την εξου
 σιαν οἱ μιν δη αθηναιοι
 και οἱ πελοποννησιοι ανε
 χωρησαν τωι στρατωι εκ της
 πυλουν εκατεροι επ οικον και
 20 του κλεωνος καιπερ μανιω
 [δ]ης ουσα η ὑποσχσεις απε
 βη εντος γαρ εικοσι ημερων
 ηγαγε τους ανδρας ωσπερ
 υπεστη παρα γνωμην
 τε δη μαλιστα των κατα
 25 τον πολεμον τουτο τοις ελ

Col. III.

νησωι. The missing words were subsequently written by the second hand in the margin at the top of the column, and indicated by the curved mark to the left of the line and by the word *ανω* placed over the point where the omission occurred.

5. εικοσι: εἴκοσιν, Bekk. with MSS.; cf. l. 21.
6. The ο of οἱ was converted from another letter, perhaps α.
7. απηιεσαν is the reading of the MSS. and Bekk.; the variant απηισαν is a preferable spelling.
8. δε: the addition of ε brings the papyrus into agreement with the MSS. and Bekk.
9. λαθραι: λάθρα, MSS., Bekk.
10. σιτος τις εν: σίτος ἐν: MSS., Bekk. The loss of τις after -τος would be easy.
11. ενκατεληφθη: the v.l. here agrees with the reading of FHINbde, which is followed by Bekk.; ἐγκατελείφθη vulg.
13. επιταδης: Ἐπιτάδας, Bekk. with MSS.
14. For the added final ν cf. II. 9, note.
16. οἱ is read by Bekk. with the MSS.
21. εικοσι: εἴκοσιν, MSS., Bekk.; cf. l. 5.

COL. III.

27 [λησι]^ν εγενετ[ο] τους γαρ λακε
[δαιμονιους ουτε λι]μωι ου[τ

Ten lines lost.

38 [ει οι τεθνεω]
τε[ς] αυτων [καλοι καγαθοι
40 ./ [ησ]αν απε[κρινατο αυτωι
πολλου αν [αξιον ειναι τον
ατρακτον λε[γων τον οιστον
ει τους αγαθου[ς διεγιγνωσκε
δηλωσιν [ποιουμενος οτι ο
45 εν[τ]υγ[χανων τοις τε λιθοις
και τ[ο]ξευμασι διεφθειρετο
κο[μισθεντων δε των αν
δρ[ων οι αθηναιοι εβουλευσαν
49 δε[σμοις

ARTHUR S. HUNT.

Col. III.

26. ελλησιν: ν has been added above the line as in l. 14, etc.

38. τεθνεω]τες: the papyrus may of course have read τεθνηκοτες with Q.

39. There would be room in the lacuna for καλοι και αγαθοι, the reading of FHQf.

40. ησαν: the traces of the letter before ν suit a better than ε, and so ησαν is preferable to ειν. The papyrus stands alone in (apparently) reading the verb.

49. The column contained one more line after this one.

C.—EXCAVATIONS AT DESHÂSHEH.

AFTER beginning the work at Behneseh, and finding that no earlier remains than Roman papyri were accessible there, I left that site entirely to Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, as their special object was papyri. After searching about ninety miles of desert from Minieh to the Faiyûm, and recording all the sites of town and cemeteries—the real work of an Exploration Society—I then settled at the cemetery of Deshâsheh, of the Vth Dynasty, a short way south of Ahnâs. Here I opened about 150 tombs, and recorded all the contents.

The principal results obtained were the statues of the prince Nenkheftka and his son Nenkheftek, found in the *serdab* of his tomb. The two finest were kept at the Cairo Museum, but the large one brought to

England is the best piece of Egyptian sculpture yet secured. The figures were: two standing, $\frac{3}{4}$ life size; one seated, the same scale; a seated figure, $\frac{1}{2}$ life size; a group of man and wife, $\frac{1}{3}$ size; a pair of man and wife, $\frac{1}{4}$ size; and pieces of several others.

Many coffins of the same age were obtained, the most valuable inscribed one being kept at Cairo. In one of these was the only set of amulets of the Old Kingdom yet known. Another, of a priestess Mera, contained a painted and inscribed head-rest; and a board painted with figures of servants and boats lay by its side. Solid block coffins, hollowed out, were also found. A mat and vase of the *hotep* offering was found lying in place, before a false door where offerings were made. Beads and pendants, such as are shown on the statues of the Old Kingdom, were found in one tomb. A scribe's palette of the same age shows that such were made in two layers then. The baskets, cords, mallets, and chisels, left behind by the gravediggers of the Vth Dynasty, were also recovered.

The most important conclusion, historically, is that nearly half of the people at that time were in the habit of cutting the bodies of the dead more or less to pieces; in some cases sundering every bone from its fellow, and wrapping each in cloth before rearranging them. No such practice was suspected before among the Egyptians, and it points to a cannibal ancestry. The details were discussed in the *Contemporary Review* for June.

A large part of the work done at Deshâsheh was in the copying full size of two rock-cut tombs there. These belonged to princes of the nome; one named Anta, the other Shedû. That of Anta contains a fine battle and siege scene of the Egyptians and the Sati; the most dramatic, and by far the earliest, battle scene known. The other subjects in these tombs have many new points of interest. Altogether 150 feet length of drawings, 5 feet high, was done, brought to England and prepared, and lithographed before the Exhibition was held.

An Exhibition was held at University College during July, of all the results from Deshâsheh, of a selection of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt's papyri from Behneseh, of Messrs. Carter and Sillem's drawings, and of Mr. Quibell's results for the Egyptian Research Account from El Kab.

Further details need not be given here, as the full account, with plates of the Deshâsheh work, is nearly ready for press.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

II.—PROGRESS OF EGYPTOLOGY.

A.—ARCHAEOLOGY, HIEROGLYPHIC STUDIES, ETC.

THE most prominent feature in the Egyptology of the present year is the welcome development that has taken place in the study of archaeology. Several important books have been principally or entirely devoted to the accurate description of antiquities or the discussion of questions of pure archaeology, while the works of philological writers have been more strongly influenced by the consideration of the concrete than before. It is time that it was so. As was well said by Mr. Hogarth at the last general meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund, "Egypt is the repository of all archaeology;" and the excavator who, in the pursuit of his own particular tastes, makes a holocaust of all the interests of others will be classed by posterity with dealers and plunderers. It behoves us, therefore, who are on the threshold of the new era, not to fall behind our times, but to take to heart the words of Schweinfurth, printed in the last number of this Report.

Publications of texts copied from the monuments *in situ* are again few. This dearth does not arise from any exhaustion of the inscriptions, and perhaps we may hope to account for it by the inauguration of a better thought-out system of publication and greater care in the execution than has hitherto been in vogue.

On April 1st the foundation-stone of the new museum was laid on the Cairene bank of the Nile, just below the Kasr en Nil bridge. It will be remembered that the Egyptian collection is at present housed in a wood and stucco palace that belonged to the family of the late Khedive; its system of endless small apartments condemns it at once; and, whereas Mariette's museum at Bulaq was in danger of being swept away by a flood, and was once several feet deep in water, the Gizeh palace is in even greater danger from fire. In March, 1899, the new museum is to be out of the hands of the contractors and ready to receive the collection. It will stand on very low ground close to the river, but precautions are taken against any risk of injury by the inundation, and

monuments can be brought to the spot both by rail and water. There is to be nothing pseudo-Egyptian about the architecture. The building, by the way, is to include a *Salle de Vente*.

It is generally acknowledged that the present organization of the Department of Antiquities is totally inadequate to its task, and this feeling has found expression even in the newspapers. A country teeming with antiquities of unusual value swarms with dealers and plunderers; a museum, already overcharged and uncatalogued, is annually increased by immense additions; and the ridiculously small staff, instead of protecting the monuments, regulating the excavations, and bringing order into the chaos of the museum, is made to increase its own difficulties by starting new diggings all over Egypt. To set the management of the antiquities of Egypt upon a sound basis will be of more credit to the French and a greater gain to the scientific world than all the discoveries that have hitherto been made; for this would ensure that the immense harvest of knowledge still awaiting us in Egypt shall be gathered in safely and steadily instead of being dissipated and destroyed.

The Transactions of the 10th Orientalist Congress are now published. This Congress was held at Geneva in 1894, under the presidency of M. Naville. The papers presented in the IVth Section were almost entirely devoted to Egyptology, many of them being of great interest.

A volume of essays—"Aegyptiaca"—has been dedicated to GEORG EBERS on his 60th birthday by seventeen Egyptologists, most of whom were, at some time or other, pupils of the celebrated Leipzig professor.

The Collected Works of DEVÉRIA, *Mémoires et Fragments*, are being published in the *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*. The first volume has appeared, containing a biographical notice, with portrait, and several papers and fragments not before published. These latter will be noticed under their proper headings, with two exceptions, viz. the important *Journal de Voyage* with Mariette in 1862, and a paper on a method of unrolling papyri which have been impregnated with bitumen, by soaking them in ether. That this, and indeed most of the devices for the proper treatment of papyri were not known a few years ago in quarters where such knowledge was most to be expected may be instanced in the cruel fate of a certain long and valuable papyrus known

to the present writer, and confidently placed in the hands of a professional operator, who, without a day's delay, reduced it from end to end to a series of small splinters.

EXCAVATIONS AND EXPLORATIONS.

This year we have looked in vain for Professor Sayce's "Letters from Egypt" in the pages of the *Academy*, that journal being no longer under the old management. Neither has M. Salomon Reinach's annual *Chronique d'Orient* yet appeared in the *Revue Archéologique*. Probably the amount of work done has been far greater than would appear from the following report, which would have been still more meagre if Professor Sayce had not kindly supplied a few notes at the last moment.

ELEPHANTINE. Professor Sayce actually saw some papyrus rolls dug out from under the VIth Dynasty wall on the south side of the island, and subsequently was so good as to hand them over to the present writer. Unfortunately they are much decayed, and it is doubtful whether anything can be done with them, though their extreme antiquity would render of great value any information which they might yield. In the town the *sebbakhîn* have found a block inscribed with the cartouche of Amenhetep II.

EL KAB. Mr. Quibell, working on behalf of the *Egyptian Research Account* for Mr. J. J. Tylor and Mr. Somers Clarke, found "New Race" and Old Kingdom tombs inside the great wall. Some of the latter contained inscribed objects of Senefru, &c. Outside the wall eastward were tombs of the Middle Kingdom. Some foundation deposits were also found in the temples. Led by the graffiti in the Eastern Wady, Prof. Sayce found the site of the temple which preceded that of Amenhetep III., and Mr. Quibell's excavations on the spot brought to light many fragments of bowls and libation tables of the Old Kingdom; the temple itself was probably of wood. In the cliff to the south Mr. Quibell found the wine cellar, many of the jars being still sealed with clay. The graffiti which guided Professor Sayce connect the temple with a white obelisk, and M. Grébaut found a white limestone obelisk a few feet west of the temple of Amenhetep III.; but it was afterwards lost in the Nile. At the corner of a low cliff two miles S.E. of El Hilâl, and about the same distance from the river, there is a recess in the rock with drawings of ships, in three of which the cabin is replaced by a cartouche. The second and third of these cartouches are of Khufu;

the first is read by Professor Sayce as "*Sharru*," which he compares with Soris of Manetho, the predecessor of Khufu. On the high plateau east of the necropolis hill Professor Sayce found breccia partly disintegrated and formed of pebbles and worked flints of palaeolithic form.

Mr. Somers Clarke and his assistants have continued their work of copying and surveying at El Kab.

SILSILEH. M. Legrain has found a Karian inscription at Khor el Ghorâb, north of Silsileh, and has excavated some prehistoric or "New Race" tombs on the north-east.

THEBES. Miss Benson has completed her work at the temple of Mut and found several fine statues, amongst them one of the governor Mentuemhat (XXVth Dynasty); there is also a new fragment of the frieze in which Piankhy pictured his victories over Tafnekht and the other princes of the north.

M. Legrain has continued the repairs of the temple of Karnak.

The *sebbâkhîn* of Medînet Habu are digging up the palace of Amenhetep III., where M. Grébaut found painted floors; great quantities of variegated glass have come from it.

NEGÂDEH. M. de Morgan has excavated more prehistoric tombs; also a royal tomb, the contents of which had been partially burnt subsequent to interment, after the fashion of the early Babylonians. The royal names had been impressed on clay jar-sealings by means of seal-cylinders. Among the objects discovered are an exquisitely carved ivory plaque and lion, shells from the Red Sea, fragments of obsidian and crystal vases.

ABYDOS. M. Amélineau has found more royal tombs of the early period, containing clay vases stamped with royal names and titles as before. The names are usually *Ka*-names, but sometimes they are surrounded with a crenellated oval border, which suggests that the cartouche originally represented the fortified palace in which the king lived (Sayce). One is thought to be the name of Boethos, the first king of the IIInd Dynasty. M. Amélineau has also found two rude stone stelae with *Ka*-names. The clay vases found bear incised marks.

MENSHIYEH. In the hills behind this place M. de Morgan has found other prehistoric tombs.

It seems worth recording that seven papyri found at Eshmunên were bought by 'Ali of Gizeh for 18*l.*, that six of these were demotic, while the seventh contained the now famous odes of Bacchylides (Sayce).

In the course of his geological survey Mr. W. E. J. Bramley found

and copied some rock drawings and Greek and hieroglyphic graffiti in the Eastern desert.

BEHNESEH and DESHÂSHEH. See Reports of the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund by Mr. Grenfell and Professor Petrie.

MEMOIRS ON EXCAVATIONS.

The first place must be given to a digest of the unpublished papers of Lepsius' great expedition of 1842-6, in the form of a text to the *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. The first volume relates to Lower Egypt, and has now been issued with a supplement containing a number of large plates. M. NAVILLE furnishes a French preface giving a short sketch of the Egyptological work of Lepsius, which led to his expedition to Egypt. Professor ERMAN also writes a short preface stating what are the materials on which the work is founded. The plates of the *Denkmäler* were quickly published, but the text was not even commenced by Lepsius. The journal of the expedition and other notes were bequeathed by him to M. Naville, who, however, out of consideration for the claims of the Prussian Government, returned them to Berlin in 1886, under certain conditions in accordance with his responsibilities as literary executor.

The arrangement of the book is topographical, not following the chronological order of the plates, but any difficulty of reference will be removed by indices. The text is taken by SETHE straight from the Journals, supplemented from note-books, inventories, paper squeezes, and drawings. BORCHARDT is responsible for editing the architectural notes, and also draws most of the sketches in the text. The first volume contains notes made at Alexandria, Sais, Tanis, Behbeit, Heliopolis, &c.; many notes on the Abbott and Clot Bey collections then at Cairo, and a vast mass of information on the pyramids and tombs from Abu-rawâsh to Sakḳâreh. In two appendices are essays on the development of tomb architecture in the Old Kingdom, and another on the proportions of the human figure observed in the tomb of Ma-nefer at Sakḳâreh. As might be expected, the work is, taken as a whole, exceedingly interesting and valuable, and will be indispensable to Egyptologists, although, so far as a cursory examination permits one to judge, there is no single thing of first rate importance in the volume. The prefaces are printed, but the rest of the work is neatly and clearly autographed.

PROFESSOR PETRIE has issued the combined results of his own work in

Egypt and that of the *Egyptian Research Account* during the season of 1894-5 in a model memoir, *Nagada and Ballas*, Mr. QUIBELL being responsible for the account of the excavations on the second of these sites and Mr. SPURRELL contributing a valuable chapter on the flints. By far the greater part of the 86 plates are filled with remains of the "New Race," so skilful in the manufacture of vessels of pottery and stone, and unrivalled in the art of flint working. A minute account of the finds is given in the text, and the theory is set forth that the "New Race" were invaders from the Libyan side who entered the country at the fall of the VIth Dynasty. The publication of Prof. Petrie's careful record of these discoveries will doubtless draw much attention to this ethnographical problem, and already, as will be noticed below, the observations of other explorers are throwing further light upon the subject. M. Maspero, reviewing the work (*Rev. Crit.* 15 Fév.), considers the "New Race" to have been wandering Berber tribes, ever ready to raid and encroach. Schweinfurth (in a footnote to his account of Mons Claudianus, see below) thinks that the people must have come from the East, where the slate that they used so much is abundant. It is probable, however, that M. de Morgan's view (see *Les Origines*), deduced from his own excavations, is the correct one, and that this folk was really the primitive population of Egypt. Prof. Petrie's memoir also gives a description of the town of Nubt, from which the god Set derived one of his most characteristic epithets. In the course of his work Mr. Quibell was fortunate enough to acquire a monument of the little-known king Dehuti.

A valuable *Report on the Island and Temples of Philae*, by Captain H. G. LYONS, R.E., has been printed by the Egyptian Government. It describes the operations carried out upon the island in view of the proposal to construct a dam at that part of the river for the storage of water for summer irrigation. The foundations of the temples were examined in order to learn what would be the result of yearly submersion. The *Report*, and Mr.—now Sir W. E.—Garstin's prefatory note, show that the foundations are in most cases securely laid in the rock, and that where the annual rise reaches the stone it has had no injurious effect upon it. Some of the foundations would need strengthening before the construction of the reservoir.

The *Report* is illustrated by 50 large and fine photographs of the ruins, 17 photographs of antiquities, fragments of Egyptian, Ptolemaic, Roman, Coptic, and Arabic sculpture, and 11 plans. There is a long list of temples and other stone buildings, many of which were not previously

known to exist. Captain Lyons acknowledges the assistance of M. Barsanti in the restorations, and of Herr Borchardt, commissioned by the Berlin Academy to study the temples, for valuable suggestions. This is the first large piece of archaeological work done by an English official of the Government. It seems to have been done quickly, thoroughly, and at very small expense, and reflects the greatest credit on Captain Lyons, whose heart was evidently in his task.¹

M. DE MORGAN gives an interesting *résumé* of his brilliant and successful researches in various parts of Egypt from 1892-4 (*Congr. Geneva*, iv.).

DARESSY gives an account of explorations and excavations in the year 1895-6 (*Sphinx*, i. 81).

KARL SCHMIDT, who excavated for a short time at Ekhmîm, reports that the Christian antiquities sold as from Ekhmîm came equally from Sohag and the southern Athribis opposite Ekhmîm, on the west bank. Besides Greek mummy labels numerous wax painted portraits are found, but these are of very inferior quality (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 79).

MASPERO reviews Amélineau's *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos* (*Rev. Crit.* 8 Fév.).

BOURIANT describes the royal tomb at Tell el Amarna (*Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 144).

PUBLICATIONS OF TEXTS.

ABU SIMBEL. Revised copy of the stela of Rameses II. mentioning his marriage with a daughter of the Prince of the Hittites (BOURIANT, *Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 160).

AMADA. Inscription of Merenptah from temple of Amada (*Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 159).

KOM OMBO. Numerous corrections to the texts of *Ombos Tome I*, in the *Catalogue des Monuments de la Haute Égypte*, and of other texts from the same temple published in *Rec. de Tr.* xv. 181 (BOURIANT, *Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 151).

EDFU. Translation of a Ptolemaic text from the great temple (PIEHL, *Congr. Geneva*, iv. 111).

ERMENT. Two stelae of the Middle Kingdom, one now at Berlin and the other at Copenhagen, are published by LANGE, the first with a photograph (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 25). Both are evidently from Hermonthis.

¹ It should here be noted that the "temple of Hornezatuf" mentioned on p. 23 of the last *Arch. Report* is dedicated to the god of that name and not built by the rebel king, whose name, moreover, is probably to be read otherwise.

They are well edited, with commentary, but are extremely difficult to translate. Another stela of the same group, in Professor Petrie's collection, has been edited by the present writer (*P. S. B. A.* xviii. 195). Other inscriptions (DARESSY, *Rec. de Tr.* xix. 14).

LUXOR. A long graffito from the temple of Luxor, giving a lively picture of a flooding of the temple in the 3rd year of Osorkon II. (DARESSY, *Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 180).

KARNAK. Inscription on colossal statue (4 metres high) of Amenhetep, son of Hapu, with dedication to Augustus on the pedestal (DARESSY, *Rec. de Tr.* xix. 18).

Revised copy of "Eclipse" inscription of Takelothis (EISENLOHR, *Congr. Geneva*, iv. 65).

Inscription recording levels of high Niles, with numerous dates of kings, XXII-XXVIth Dynasties (LEGRAIN, *A. Z.* xxxiv. 111).

Statistical tablet of Karnak, Thothmes III.; a critical edition of a large part of this inscription is given by F. VON BISSING as his doctor's thesis.

MEDINET HABU. Inscriptions concerning festivals from the exterior wall recently uncovered, and a list of the important scenes relating to the wars of Rameses III. against the Libyans, &c.; also an inscription of the XXIst Dyn., and another mentioning Rud. Amen with Osorkon—XXIIIrd Dyn. (DARESSY, *Rec. de Tr.* xix. 15, 20).

The famous "Israel stela" of Merenptah, found by Professor Petrie near the Ramesseum, has been excellently edited, with commentary (SPIEGELBERG, *A. Z.* xxxiv. 1). It is a hymn of praise to Merenptah, the principal themes being the overthrow of the Libyans and the tranquillity, both external and internal, resulting from their defeat. At the close, the hymn specifies certain foreign countries and tribes which had been subdued, and among them—Israel.

DËR EL BAHRË. The second volume of M. Naville's publication of the temple.

BALLAS. Inscriptions from the temple of Set in Nubt, the Ombos of Juvenal (PETRIE and QUIBENË, *Najada and Ballas*, pls. 77 et seqq.).

TELL EL AMARNA. Four funerary stelae from the tomb of Ay (STEINDORFF, *A. Z.* xxxiv. 63). The stelae are fixed in the walls, and each appears to have been dedicated by a friend or servant of the deceased. The inscriptions contain no religious references, and, as might be expected for the time of the great heresy, they are entirely different from the usual funerary stelae. Two of the four are in the style prevailing just before the full adoption of the new order of things.

SAKKÂREH. A collation has been made of the published texts of the inscriptions in the pyramids with the squeezes preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This collation, which extends over a large part of these immensely long and difficult texts, is very important and valuable, and shows that where squeezes were available Professor Maspero's edition contains very few errors of copying (LANGE, *A. Z.* xxxiv. 139).

NAUKRATIS. Hieroglyphic inscription on a statue mentioning the Greeks, with several obscure place-names (DARESSY, *Rec. de Tr.* xix. 21).

BENEVENTO (Italy). Two obelisks set up before the temple of Isis for the safe return of Domitian from the Dacian war, in his 8th year: interpretation of the difficult and curious text, with full commentary (ERMAN, *A. Z.* xxxiv. 149).

ROME. Inscription on the obelisk of Antinous (the Barbarini obelisk), edited from two published copies and translated (ERMAN, *Mitth. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. Rom.* xi. 115). The writer shows that, contrary to the received opinion, this obelisk was set up in Rome originally, and that the tomb, or at least a cenotaph of Antinous, was at Rome. HUZELSEN thereupon (p. 122) endeavours to locate the tomb of Antinous, and would place it at the S.E. corner of the city where the broken obelisk appears to have lain in the 16th century.

A stela of the XIIth Dynasty at Munich, and another from the Anastasi collection, republished from Devéria's copies in the Louvre (A. H. GARDINER, *Rec. de Tr.* xix. 83).

A stela in the British Museum, with name of Sebekemsaf II. and a short dedication to the Sun god; the stela is of very curious form, with sides converging to the pointed top (CRUM, *P. S. B. A.* xviii. 272).

Inscription of Nebuau, under Thothmes III., with a reference to the 9th year of Queen Hatshepsut (SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Tr.* xix. 97). The same writer also notes some objects inscribed with the name of Senmut, the architect of Hatshepsut (*ibid.* 91).

WIEDEMANN publishes two stelae at Geneva, one containing a solar hymn, and the other being engraved for a scribe of provisions of King Amenhetep I. (?). In connexion with the latter the writer gives a long note on the scribe's titles (*Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 123).

The latest part (*liv.* 33) of the sumptuous publication of the Leyden Museum contains the mummy and three coffins of Petiisis (7 plates, 1 coloured).

DURANGE gives the inscription on a ushabti in his collection (*Rec. de Tr.* xix. 86).

HIERATIC.

A number of fragments of royal accounts of the Vth Dynasty were obtained four years ago at Saqqâreh by a Cairo dealer. Of these M. Naville acquired perhaps the largest share; Professor Petrie has a good fragment, and Professor Maspero is said to possess some, while others reached the Cairo Museum through Mr. Fraser. The last are now described by BORCHARDT (*Ebers' Festschrift*, p. 8). The principal fragment among them is dated in the year 15 of a king who is evidently Assa, and, as Borchardt points out, the papyrus proves that Nefer . ar . ka . ra is the prenomen of Ka . kai. We may hope for interesting results from a collective publication of all the fragments.

The present writer has published the first instalment of the early papyri found by Professor Petrie in 1888-9 (*Hieratic Papyri of Kahun and Gurob*, I.). This part contains the Literary, Medical, and Mathematical Papyri from Kahun, the chief items being—a hymn in ten and five-line stanzas to Usertesen III.; a long series of gynaecological prescriptions, and a short veterinary text. All these are of the age of the XIIth—XIIIth Dynasties. This part has been reviewed by MASPERO, who retranslates most of the documents (*Journal Des Savants*, Avril, 1897, p. 206).

PROFESSOR ERMAN's chief publication this year is his valuable edition of a Middle Kingdom papyrus at Berlin, containing one of the most difficult texts that have come down to us. It is a long fragment of a conversation concerning life and death, supposed to take place between a man weary of life and his soul. The text was published long since by Lepsius in the *Denkmäler*, but hitherto practically Maspero alone had devoted a few lines of print to it. Erman now gives photographic facsimiles, transcription, and commentary. Some interesting passages can be satisfactorily translated, but the text is corrupt as well as difficult, and it will be long before it is thoroughly understood (*Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele. Abh. d. Königl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1896).

The present writer has translated and commented on the text of the Millingen Papyrus, containing the Instructions of Amenemhat I. to his son Usertesen I., and to this is appended a note on substantive compounds with adjectival *n*. The text is common on papyri and ostraca, but in most cases is excessively corrupt; the Millingen copy is fairly correct, but still it is very difficult to translate. The next best text seems to be a fragmentary Papyrus at Berlin. One of the Sallier Papyri

in the British Museum preserves the whole from beginning to end, but is terribly corrupt. The purpose and argument of the work seem to be that Amenemhat, who has already virtually associated Usertesen with himself in the kingdom, determines, in consequence of a plot against his life, to insure his son's succession by announcing it in a formal manner. He has laboured strenuously and successfully for his own glory and for the good of his people, but in return is scarcely saved from ignominious dethronement or assassination through a conspiracy formed in his own household. The moral to be drawn from this is pointed out to his son with considerable bitterness and scorn in the "Teaching," in which, however, Usertesen is promised a brilliant reign if he will attend to his father's instructions (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 35).

SPIEGELBERG publishes a list of titles from a wooden tablet at University College, London; a list of offerings to Osiris in a British Museum papyrus; a pedagogue's list of articles such as came within the province of a joiner; and a fragment of a duplicate of the text *Anast.* iv. 10/5 (*Rec. de Tr.* xix. 92).

Record of a gift of land at Buto in the ninth year of Shabaka (*E. BRUGSCH, A. Z.* xxxiv. 83).

Text of the *Ami Duat* ("that which is in Hades"); 10 coloured plates with description (PLEYTE, *Monuments du Musée de Leyde*, liv. 32, 1894).

DEMOTIC.

DR. KRALL had the good fortune to discover in the Graf collection from the Faiyûm, acquired by Archduke Rainer, a number of fragments of a story written in at least twenty-two columns. He has now given a very full and interesting report of the document with a complete glossary, &c. (*Rainer Mitth.* vi. 19), and promises a complete edition shortly. The copy dates from the 1st century A.D., but the story relates to the time of the XXIIIrd Dyn. (c. 800 B.C.), and indicates at least a moderate acquaintance with the condition of Egypt in that already distant period. Pharaoh, residing at Tanis, is named Petubastis. The beginning of the story is lost, but apparently a great prince named Eiorherôu has recently died, leaving six sons in prominent positions in Egypt. One, named Pimai the Less, was in Heliopolis; another, Min-nemai, was prince of Elephantine; Mentubaal was in Syria, Ruru in Busiris, . . . rekhf in Sais, &c. The armour of Eiorherôu was kept by Pimai at Heliopolis, but was stolen away by Kaamenophis of Mendes.

Pimai demands it back and threatens vengeance. Failing to obtain it, he interviews Pharaoh and complains of insults offered by Kaamenophis to Eiorherôu; but the king bids him not be angry and orders a magnificent funeral for Eiorherôu at Busiris, which all the armies throughout Egypt are summoned to attend. After the ceremony the troops disperse, but Pimai and his elder cousin Pekrur of the Arabian nome refuse to return home unless the armour is restored to its place. The king sends a messenger to Kaamenophis, who, like all the other princes, behaves with the greatest reverence before Pharaoh, but in the end decides to fight for the possession of the armour. Besides his own nome of Mendes, three other nomes, viz. Tanis, Iseum (?), and Ta-hat (?), side with Kaamenophis, while the whole clan of Eiorherôu, representing ten nomes or fortresses, are summoned to meet them at the Gazelle lake. Pimai, with the Heliopolite army, reaches the spot first, and Kaamenophis, with the four nomes, tries to draw him into battle before his allies arrive. Apparently some fighting ensues; but Pharaoh appears upon the scene and order is restored, while preparations are made for a fair trial of strength between the two parties in the royal presence. The battle then commences, and is won by the clan of Eiorherôu. Mentubaal specially distinguished himself, and the slaughter amongst his foes was so great that the king begs Pekruru to make him desist from it, and promises that the armour shall be restored. Pimai is on the point of slaying Kaamenophis when the order to cease fighting reaches him, and one of the king's sons fighting for Kaamenophis is only just saved from death by his father's intervention. With the restoration of the armour to Heliopolis the best preserved part of the text ends.

Dr. Krall is to be congratulated warmly on the discovery of this document, which is full of interesting details and references. Some of the proper names mentioned in it are also found on the Stela of Piankhy, and others in the list of governors of Assurbanipal. From a philological point of view the importance of the text can hardly be exaggerated. Dr. Krall expresses the hope that additional fragments may be discovered in other collections (*Ein neuer histor. Roman in demotischer Schrift*).

Krall incidentally notes that the Moeris Papyrus (*Arch. Report*, 1895-6, p. 26), published by Lanzone, is now in the Rainer collection, and that the fragment naming Ptolemy IX. and Soenopaeus is in no way connected with it.

WESSELY (*Rev. Egypt.* viii. 8) publishes a Greek papyrus of the Roman period having reference to the burial of an Apis in the Faiyûm, with demotic signature.

HISTORY.

EISENLOHR passes in review a number of monumental data used by various writers for the determination of the earlier Egyptian chronology by means of astronomical calculations (*Congr. Geneva*, iv. 65).

It appears that the epagomenal days were sometimes denoted by the birthdays of the gods who were born on each of them; but Wiedemann (*Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 126) questions the fixity of these divine birthdays and their value for chronology.

C. TORR and DE RICCI discuss questions of Egyptian chronology (*Rev. Arch.* xxix. 260).

PETRIE points out that as neither Merenptah's war with Israel nor Rameses III.'s war in Palestine is mentioned in the Book of Judges, the settlement of the Jews in Palestine may be regarded as subsequent to the campaign of Rameses III. He proceeds to show that the Jewish chronology down to Shishak's invasion in the reign of Rehoboam admits of explanation which abbreviates it into conformity with this view (*P. S. B. A.* xviii. 243).

The second volume of Professor Maspero's great *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient Classique* (Tome II, *Les premières mêlées des Peuples*) is complete, and has been translated into English under the title "*The Struggle of the Nations*." It covers the period from the Hyksos to the XXIInd Dyn. in Egypt.

MASPERO, reviewing the two memoirs on El Bersheh (*Rev. Crit.* xliii. 61), considers that the dates of the graffiti at Het Nub should be referred to the reigns of the kings, and not to those of the nomarchs. This leads him to reduce considerably the duration ascribed to Tehutihetep's family tree, scarcely allowing it to reach back to the XIth Dyn.

SPIEGELBERG gives references for "Henket, ankh," the name of the funerary temple of Thothmes III., and for "Shesep, ankhet," that of the temple of Amenhetep II. "Ankh, uas," the supposed name of the palace of Rameses II., must be due to errors of the scribe of Sallier III. (*Rec. de Tr.* xix. 86).

WIEDEMANN suggests "Amen . nefer . nebt" as the name of the eldest son of Sety I., who seems to have had the right of succession, but died early (*Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 121).

PEUILLET compares the description of Rameses III.'s buildings at Thebes in the Harris Papyrus with the ruins of Medinet Habu. There seems no doubt that they are identical, and that the tower of Medinet Habu is the *aka* or "palace" for Amen of the papyrus.

BAILLET reconstructs a long genealogy in the family of the priests of Mentu at Thebes, which may have lasted from the XXIIInd to the XXVIth Dynasty (*Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 187).

SPIEGELBERG has found a reference to the crime of a certain high priest in the reign of Rameses IX., and regards it as relating to a plot for power, such as culminated in the rise of the XXIst Dyn., the priestly dynasty of Thebes (*Rec. de Tr.* xix. 91).

WIEDEMANN comments on the designation of the priesthood of Karnak under the Ethiopian King Taenuat.

PROFESSOR LINCKE draws attention to the leading place ascribed to Cambyses as an evil genius in the stories of the Middle Ages. He considers that Cambyses was one of the greatest kings that ever ruled in the East, that he has been systematically maligned by the peoples whom he conquered, and that the official records of his successors did not do him justice. That he became the object of the most spiteful accusations by the Egyptians is clear from Herodotus (*Ebers' Festschrift*, 41).

SCHÄFER (*Ebers' Festschrift*, 92) proves that Brugsch was right in attributing the Naples stela of Zed. Smataui, aufankh, priest of Hershefi at Ahnas, to the Ptolemaic period, and the reference to a fatal battle with the Greeks to the overthrow of the Persians by Alexander at Issus. By others this reference has been considered to indicate the battle of Marathon, the rebellion of Inarus, &c.

MASPERO (*Annuaire de l'école pratique des Hautes Études*, 1896, p. 5) sets forth the circumstances under which Alexander sought deification by being proclaimed the son of Ammon. To be acknowledged as son of a great god was a Pharaonic device, which it was Alexander's policy to adopt in order to legitimize himself for the Egyptian throne in the eyes of the Egyptian people.

Some doubtful cartouches found at Tahta were first read by Golénischeff as Maecianus. WIEDEMANN (*Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 122) suggests that they are of Maximinus Daza, but a copy of another of these cartouches by BOURIANT reads clearly Commodus and is doubtless correct (*Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 150).

GEOGRAPHY.

SCHÄFER points out in the hieroglyphic part of the trilingual inscription of Philae a Nubian place-name, Istrenen, as being possibly Astanoun, a city which still existed five centuries ago at the 3rd cataract. This

same writer notes that his own identifications of modern Nuba roots in the Nubian place-names recorded and translated by Pliny had nearly all been anticipated by the learned and brilliant Heinrich Brugsch in his *Siebenjähriges Hungersnot*, published in 1891 (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 91).

SETHE has written learned and interesting articles on Berenice and the Blemmyes in *Pauly Wissowa's Real Encyclopædie*.

At Wanina near Sohag is a temple of Ptolemy Soter II., giving the name of a god Horus Ami. Shent. The locality named Shent was at or near this spot (*DARESSY, Rec. de Tr.* xix. 21): here is also a note on a locality sacred to Mut.

Baedeker's Egypten, always useful for reference to Egyptologists at home, as well as to travellers, has been thoroughly revised and in great part re-written by Professor STEINDORFF. He has compressed the two volumes into one, omitting much that was of interest to specialists only, but bringing the more important information up to date.

SCHWEINFURTH (*Zeits. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk. zu Berlin*, xxxii.) gives a very interesting account of his observations in the seldom visited quarries of Mons Claudianus. The mountainous region between the Nile and the Red Sea was rarely traversed by the Egyptians, who had a superstitious dread of it, though Bedawîn wandered here and there over the district. The Qusêr route through the desert to the Red Sea was the only one which the Egyptians were accustomed to follow, and there they quarried basalt from the earliest times. Under the Ptolemies the impulse given to trade led to the establishment of fresh routes, and under the Romans the region was systematically explored for new varieties of stone, to suit the builder and sculptor. The porphyry quarries of Mons Porphyrites were then opened, and some forty miles south of them the granite quarries at Gebel Fatîreh, known as the Mons Claudianus. The granite here found is grey, easily worked, but not of very good quality; in every respect it closely resembles that of Como in Italy. The difficulty of transporting the stone to the Nile must have been enormous, and if these quarries had not offered a safe limbo for state prisoners, probably they would never have been opened. Such quarries were worked for perhaps three centuries, from the time of Claudius to that of Constantine; but the remains at Gebel Fatîreh indicate a shorter period. These consist of a fort surrounded by huts, houses, and stables, a well, and perhaps the remains of a conduit from a water tower. One monolithic column has been found there no less than 51 ft. high.

FOREIGN GEOGRAPHY.

MAX MÜLLER publishes Professor Sayce's copy of the fragments of a geographical list at Serreh (Aksheh) in Nubia (*Rec. de Tr.* xix. 73).

DEVÉRIA. Notes by this writer on the geographical lists of Thothmes III. are published in his *Mémoires et Fragments*, i. 203.

MASPERO traces the ancient road from Kadesh on the Orontes to Byblos by the help of the "Travels of an Egyptian" in the Sallier Papyrus, through a forest and a dangerous gorge (*Rec. de Tr.* xix. 68).

There has been much written on the geographical names in the Tell el Amarna letters: viz.—

MASPERO (*Rec. de Tr.* xix. 64) deals with Katna = Egyptian Kedina, and Lapana = Greek Lybon.

HOMMEL on *Khani rabbat*, &c. (*P. S. B. A.* xix. 83).

TOMKINS, conjectures concerning *Khâna* and *Pethor* (*ibid.* 113).

MAX MÜLLER, in *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*,¹ 1896-7, reads the name of a Phoenician king in a hieroglyphic inscription from Syria (p. 190) and of a Hittite king on a scarab (p. 192); and Winckler and Niebuhr treat of the place-names mentioned in the Tell el Amarna letters (p. 203). Niebuhr would identify "Yarimuta" with Lower Egypt. Max Müller recurs to the place-names on p. 273, identifying Egyptian Unnug with cuneiform Unki, and Pabukh with Babylonian Papâkhu "temple." Winckler subsequently equates the latter with Bambyce.

ED. MEYER, the well-known historian, working from Winckler's edition of these letters, suggests or upholds the following identifications:—

Babylonia, *Karduniyaš* is also called *Kaš* (the people *Kašši*), and *Šanhar* is the Egyptian Sangar.

Nahrina (Egyptian Nahrina), Mitani = Khanigalbat.

Alasia (Egyptian Arasa) = Cyprus, also Egyptian Asy. There were no Phoenician settlements in the island as early as the Mykenaeon time, but there was much intercourse with Egypt.

Also Istar of Nineveh was worshipped in Mitani, and apparently her

¹ We may here note that the *Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft* (publisher Wolf Peiser: Berlin) has been established for the investigation of the antiquities of Western Asia, to cover the whole ground of cuneiform research in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor, the Minnean and Sabaeon Kingdoms of Arabia, &c. The publication will doubtless be of great value to students of these subjects, and deserves the support of all who are interested in the geography, history, and reciprocal relations of the different countries bordering on the Levant.

statue was sent for the healing of King Amenhetep III.: compare the tradition of the healing of the princess of Bekhten by the god Khonsu.

Meyer points out how the system of government of Syria devised by Thothmes III. continued under Amenhetep III. and IV., but that the Egyptian ascendancy was very much weakened under Amenhetep III., while it was at that time that the Hittite power began its rapid encroachment. The name *Qatna* confirms the Egyptian *Qadina*, the authenticity of which had been doubted. *Amuri* is the Egyptian *Amur*, Amorites in the Lebanon region. *Suti* = Egyptian *Setiu* = Bedawin of Syria and Mesopotamia, as troops of the Syrian dynasts. *Khabiri* = Hebrews, also troops and allies of Syrian dynasts, and the Shasu of Seti I.'s great campaign (*Ebers' Festschrift*, 62).

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

H. WINCKLER has written *Die Hebräer in den Tel-Amarna Briefen* (*Kohut, Semit. Stud.* p. 605).

ERMAN and BISSING identify three Egyptian names for certain forms of jars occurring in the Tell el Amarna letters (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 165).

HOMMEL's *Ancient Hebrew Tradition as illustrated by the Monuments*—original in German, published simultaneously—is another of the books intended to bring the results of research in Western Asia and Egypt to bear upon the Old Testament records. In the present case the endeavour is principally to elucidate the Biblical proper names, to point out changes in the fashion of them, to mark the introduction of foreign elements, and generally to discover their historical bearings, and to show that in most cases they belong to the periods to which the Biblical accounts appear to attribute them. At present, in this department of research the statements and identifications of one year are too often upset, contradicted, or greatly modified by the discoveries of the next; but it is evident that, as time goes on, Old Testament criticism will be furnished with an entirely new set of tests by which to judge the ages and values of the compositions in the Bible. External evidence from the monuments will in the end have more weight than internal evidence, the arguments from which seem occasionally too finely spun to stand the strain of new facts. The references to Egypt in the book are fairly numerous, under *Ebsha'a*, *Ammianshi*, *Urim*, *Suti*, *Sha'asu*, *Putiel*, *Phineas*, *Passah*, *Arpakhesed*, &c., &c. Considering the character of the book, it would have been interesting to know what Hommel deduces from

the occurrence of the late Egyptian names Zaphnathpaaneh and Potiphera in the story of Joseph ; but to these there is no reference.

J. EUTING publishes a tomb inscription from Antinoë, in Hebrew, which dates from the first or second century A.D. (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 164).

FRIES considers that the mention of Israel in the Merenptah tablet necessitates throwing back the exodus earlier than has hitherto been done—"if there is any truth in the story of Israel in Egypt" (*Sphinx*, i. 207).

BREASTED has an article on the same tablet in the *Biblical World* (1897, p. 62) concluding : "One thing is certain, that Merneptah can no longer be called the Pharaoh of the exodus, unless the wilderness wandering be given up. To sum up, although this inscription does not identify the Pharaoh of the exodus for us, it gives us a definite date, the latter part of the 13th century B.C., at which we find Israelites in Palestine. Unless we accept the improbable hypothesis of a divided Israel, this is a certain *terminus ad quem* for the date of the exodus."

Altogether the tablet has been the object of much discussion in theological journals.

HOMMEL publishes a notice of a text from Glaser's collection recording a gift of slaves to the god of the Minaean capital. Seven of these slaves are from Misri—Egypt (?)—but all bear Arab names. Apparently these names were not given to them by the Minaeans, so probably their bearers came from the eastern desert under Egyptian dominion (*Ebers' Festschrift*, p. 25).

SCHIAPARELLI (*Congr. Genera*, iv. 105) gives the résumé of a volume which he is preparing on the geography of Nubia. He places the *Wawat*, &c., much further south than Egyptologists are now disposed to do.

In view of the remarkable connexions established by archaeology between Egypt during the New Kingdom and the Mykenaeen age in Greece, Cyprus, &c., we may here mention Professor Manatt's translation of Tsountas' valuable work *The Mykenaeen Age*, brought up to date by the translator, and furnishing a luminous account of the present state of knowledge on the subject.

B. VON TURATIEFF has written an article on the Keftiu and the Mykenaeen civilization : unfortunately the Russian dress in which it appears prevents me from reporting upon it more fully.

PHILOLOGY.

ERMAN (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 51) deals with the transliteration of Egyptian. In the *Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.* xlvi. 709, STEINDORFF had already expounded

the Berlin system, but this restatement in the leading Egyptological magazine is very useful. It is presented in a different manner, and the truth of its principles with regard to the so-called "vowels"—which really correspond to the Hebrew *Aleph*, *Yod*, *'Ayin*, and *Vaw*—is shown with the greatest clearness. The principle is right, and in scientific work for specialists the Berlin system is extremely convenient. The difficulty is that, when proper names have to be given in work for the general reader, the system furnishes only what the Egyptians wrote, namely the bare consonantal skeletons, e.g. *Hwfw* (Khufu) *Sbkhtp* (Sebekhetep), &c.—and how from these to produce pronounceable names is now the chief problem with regard to transliteration. Professor Erman would solve the difficulty by: 1. Substituting Greek forms for Egyptian, where they exist; e.g. Amenemes for what we call Amenemhat—*Imumh't*. 2. Substituting the Coptic designations for Egyptian where the Coptic forms can be proved to correspond in grammatical construction; e.g. Sinûhe for what we call Sanehat, *Snhst*. 3. Where no such aid can rightly be obtained from either Greek or Coptic, adopting conventional values for the consonants and semi-vowels. For *Aleph* and *'Ayin* he would substitute *e* at the beginning of a word, but otherwise suppress it altogether, and *i* (*i*) is to Erman *i*. In all other respects this would correspond to our own conventional system, *e* being inserted between consonants whenever it may be necessary. There are two objections to this popular system for England: 1st, it would require in the writers considerable knowledge of the relation of Coptic to Old Egyptian; 2nd, the old system has here so wide a hold that it would be difficult to supersede it by a fresh one.

Erman also gives a note to a punning monogram of the name of Amenhetep III. (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 165).

SETHE points out that the true word for 20 in Egyptian is *med*, not *met*, the sign being the same that spells *md*, "deep" (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 90).

PIEHL contributes: "Notes de lexicographie Égyptienne" (*Congr. Geneva*, iv. 125). Remarks on the Saïte statue A. 93 in the Louvre (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 81). Some notes on the Westcar Papyrus (*Sphinx*, i. 71). Note on the emphatic negative (?) *nfr* *n* (*ibid.* i. 197). Confirmation of the value *shat* for the sign of the bird's claw (*ibid.* i. 256). On Erman's translation of the obelisk of Antinous and that of Benevento (*ibid.* 252).

SPIEGELBERG contributes a note on the title of the king's valet in the Old Kingdom (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 162). Notes on the New Egyptian orthography

of certain words (*Rec. de Tr.* xix. 89); on a Coptic derivative from the distributive *khert* (*ibid.* p. 90); on the word *pekheret*, fortress, garrison (?) (*ibid.* p. 100).

SCHÄFER discusses the meaning of the name Akhenaten, and gives the Egyptian name for the royal "cartouche," or oval that contained the king's name (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 166).

MORET writes on the word *amakh* (*Rec. de Tr.* xix. 112).

MAX MÜLLER has a remark on a supposed ox-tax, and proposes an emendation *keb* for *uab* in a pyramid text (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 167). In *P. S. B. A.* xviii. 187 he contests the antiquity of the value *fu* for a sign to which the two values *fu* and *au* are usually assigned.

The same writer ingeniously explains the Semitic names of drugs in a Phoenician recipe embodied in the Ebers Papyrus. He would identify them as alum, marjoram, and saffron; he also considers that the prescription was probably derived by the Egyptian scribe from a document written in cuneiform (*Ebers' Festschrift*, 77).

He has also a discussion of the Berber (?) names of the dogs of King Antef, *Alt-Afrikanische Glossen* in the *Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* x. 203.

J. H. BONDI gives some new examples of the reciprocal influence of Egyptian and Semite on each other's vocabulary: e.g. *Tahas*, "seals' skins" or "porpoise skins" *R. V. Ex.* xxv. 5, &c., and the Egyptian word *ths*, "hide, leather," constantly appearing in scenes of shoe-making; also *tahas* appears as the material for shoes in *Ez.* xvi. 10. This is evidently a word borrowed by the Hebrews from Egypt. On the other hand, the Semitic root *msk* for leather (Arabic *mask*, Ass. *masku*, &c.) entered Egypt as *msk*, *mski*, at least as early as the Vith Dynasty. In Egyptian it has perhaps the meaning "hide" rather than "leather" (*Ebers' Festschrift*, p. 1).

SPIEGELBERG notes a Hebrew-Coptic word for "calf" (*Rec. de Tr.* xix. 100).

SIR P. RENOUF vindicates the claims of Champollion to the first decipherment of hieroglyphics against Young (*P. S. B. A.* xix. 188).

The following works are reviewed in the *Sphinx*, with comments chiefly philological:—

SPIEGELBERG, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit. Seti's I.*; elaborate review by EISENLOHR (*Sphinx*, i. 112). Cf. also Eisenlohr's Rollin papyri and baking calculations (*P. S. B. A.* xix. 91, 115, 147).

ROCHEMONTEIX, *Temple d'Edfou*, elaborate review by PIEHL (*Sphinx*, i.

155 and 237). *Of. his Réponse à M. G. Maspero à propos de son Avant Propos du temple d'Edfou.*

NAVILLE, *Deir el Bahri*, Introductory Memoir and Part I.; PIEHL (*ibid.* 182 and 230).

DARESSY, *Procession d'Ammon à Luxor*, LORET (*ibid.* 186).

SCHACKENBURG, *Index to the Pyramid Texts*, PIEHL (*ibid.* 225).

GRIFFITH and NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I. and II.*, SJÖBERG (*ibid.* 233).

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY.

WIEDEMANN'S *Religion der alten Aegypten*, published in 1890, has been translated into English, and forms an excellent handbook of the subject, being enriched with illustrations and many additions by the author.

The same writer gives an instance of the designation "Osiris lord of the spirit land (*Akhet*)" (*Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 123), and a long note on the *uas* sceptre (*ibid.* 127).

H. O. LANGE has contributed a brief account of Egypt and the Egyptian religion to Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religion's Geschichte*.

CHASSINAT identifies the *vékves*, who according to Manetho preceded Menes, with the Egyptian *akhu*, who, according to the Book of the Dead, are certain gods otherwise known as the sons of Horus, and of Horus Khent. khety (*Rec. de Tr.* xix. 23).

DEVÉRIA'S additional note to his memoir on the goddess Nub, a note on the name of Osiris in Plutarch, and a dissertation on the eyes and ears in the symbolism of Ancient Egypt, have been published for the first time in his *Mémoires* (pp. 1, 159, 147). He shows that the models of ears which we find were not *ex-votos* for recovery from disease, but symbols of the god who hears. This conclusion he would also extend to the models of eyes, and regard them as symbols of him who sees.

SETHE'S article on the god Besas (Bes) in *Pauly Wissowa's Encyclopaedia* is very able and interesting.

PIETSCHMANN (*Ebers' Festschrift*, 82) points out that in *Todb.* cap. 94, &c., the scribe's palette is mystically identified with the deceased himself, probably because in the magic formulae the sentences written with the aid of the palette are as effective as if the deceased had spoken them for himself. It is likewise identified with Osiris, the god of the dead.

PIEHL writes a note on the title *Azy* (*Aty*?) of Osiris (*Sphinx*, i. 257), and another on the god Petbe, mentioned in a Coptic document (*ibid.* 197).

In a certain section of the Pyramid texts there are a number of

sentences addressing Nut in the second person. Erman translates these and shows that they fall into two groups, one displaying Nut as the heavenly goddess comprising all other deities, with the prayer that she will set the deceased amid the stars. This seems to have formed originally a short prayer of ten lines, though cut up later and embodied in various spells. The second group alters the same invocations so as to bring them into connexion with the Osirian doctrine (*Ebers' Festschrift*, 16).

RENOUF continues his translation of the Book of the Dead, chaps. 128—136 (*P. S. B. A.*, xviii. 165—xix.), and comments on a hypcephalus from Luxor in the collection of W. L. Nash (*P. S. B. A.* xix. 144).

LEFÉBURE, on the importance of the "name" amongst the Egyptians, superstitions concerning it, etc.: the "good name," or surname, the desire that the name should not be destroyed even at death, the personality involved in the name, which was also mystically identified with the heart (*Sphinx*, i. 93), and on the parrying of the magical influence of names by a play upon words (*ibid.* 199).

MASPERO (*Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* xxxv. 275) gives the first part of an elaborate article on the "tables of offerings" represented more or less fully in so many tombs. He shows how the "table of offerings" with the tabulated list over it is a summary of the daily requirements of a person of distinction in the matters of ablution, feeding, clothing, &c., and that as applied to the deceased it is accompanied by a most elaborate ritual given in the Pyramid texts as well as later.

LITERATURE.

RENOUF has pointed out that there is a threshing song current in Corsica which shows a surprising verbal agreement with that inscribed in the tomb of Paheri at El Kab (*P. S. B. A.* xix. 121).

PIEHL notes that the often repeated statement as to the d'Orbiney Papyrus being written for Seti II. is false; its possessor was a scribe (*Sphinx*, i. 258).

A hymn to Usertesen III. and other literary fragments are published in GRIFFITH *Hieratic Papyri of Kahun and Gurob*.

REVILLOUT suggests that the demotic "conversation of the cat and the jackal (?) " is a philosophical parody of a dialogue between Set and a cat referred to in the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead (*Revue Égyptologique*, viii. 61).

NATURAL HISTORY AND SCIENCE.

Rise of the Nile. In the light of the recent observations made by English engineers in Nile hydrography, VENTRE PACHA, in a very able and interesting article, has deduced important conclusions from the record of the high Niles (XXIInd to XXVIth Dynasty), marked on the quay at Karnak and discovered last year by Legrain. He thus shows that the bed of the Nile has risen .096 m. per century in the last 2800 years, while the level of the cultivated Nile valley has risen by deposit much more rapidly, viz. at the rate of .143 m. per century. Owing to this disproportionate rise of the soil, the difficulty of irrigation during low Nile has much increased. Ventre Pacha also points out that a graffito at Luxor recording that the temple was flooded by an exceptionally high Nile in the 3rd year of Osorkon II. had been interpreted in an exaggerated sense: one of the newly-discovered records gives the exact height of that inundation (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 95).

Botany. Two fragments of wood of about the XXth Dynasty prove on examination to be *Dalbergia melanoxylon*, one of the *Leguminosae*, still grown in Egypt. This is therefore presumably the ancient *hebnä*, ebony, of Egypt (*Dr. Beauvisage, Rec. de Tr.* xix. 77).

Medical. LANGE identifies the words for finger, toe, nail, &c., in the Ebers Papyrus; also the expressions for the degree of heat at which the medicaments are to be swallowed or applied, viz. "at pleasant heat," "at finger heat" (such as the finger can bear), "at spitting heat" (so hot that the patient spits it out? hardly referring to the bubbling of boiling water?), and "between the two heats" (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 76).

LORET identifies the words for "groin" and "perineum," and endeavours to unite a number of words, *ad*, *at*, *ader*, *aadt*, under one root connected with the breeding of animals.

A long series of gynaecological prescriptions and a short veterinary text. GRIFFITH, *Hieratic Papyri of Kahun and Gurob*.

DR. VON OEFELE is publishing a history of medicine before Hippocrates (*Geschichte der vorhippokratischen medicin*), in autograph.

Metrology. A weight of 270 *deben*, with the name of Taharqa, confirms the reading *deben*, first proposed by Spiegelberg, for what was formerly read *uden* (*E. Brugsch Bey, A. Z.* xxxiv. 84).

Mathematics. HULTSCH, *Elemente d. Aegyptischen Theilungsrechnung*, pt. I., from the *Abh. d. phil. Cl. d. Königl. Sachs. Gesells.*, Bd. xvii. 1895. This careful examination of Egyptian methods of division did not reach me in time to be noticed in last year's Report. The materials are of

course mainly furnished by the Rhind Papyrus and the Graeco-Egyptian mathematical papyrus of Ekhmûn.

Some new mathematical fragments are contained in the present writer's *Papyri of Kahun and Gurob*.

LAW.

PROFESSOR REVILLOUT has published a thick volume of lectures, delivered at various dates since 1882, on ownership, *La propriété, ses démembrements, la possession et leur transmission en droit Égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité*; also *Notices des papyrus démotiques, archaïques, et autres textes juridiques ou historiques à partir du règne de Bocchoris jusqu'au règne de Ptolémée Soter*, containing much that is of great importance: these are translations of a vast number of legal and other documents, the first of them being a papyrus attributed to the reign of Bocchoris.

In *Rev. Ég.* viii. 1 the same writer treats several hieratic and demotic texts from the point of view of legal and constitutional history. These texts are: the letters in the Sallier Papyrus, the demotic prophecies or chronicle, and the dialogue between a cat and a jackal. From copies given to him by Eisenlohr of unpublished judicial papyri of the time of the later Ramessides, Revillout selects three for translation. One of them contains a criminal process. Another, according to him, gives evidence: 1st, of a bronze coinage called *khalkenen*, which he compares with the Greek word *χαλκεῖον*, and with the Roman *as* (a wonderful discovery, if true); 2nd, of the *actio sacramenti*, or staking a forfeit on the result of an action by each of the parties to it. The third papyrus concerns the examination of witnesses, and yet another touches on the corruptibility of functionaries.

Professor Revillout was so long known as the only writer on Egyptian law that it is a pleasure to find that, in addition to Spiegelberg, a young Frenchman is now attacking the subject. M. ALEX. MORET has written an article on *L'Appel au roi en Égypte au temps des Pharaons et des Ptolémées* (*Congr. Geneva*, iv. 141). M. Moret is industrious in collecting examples of whatever subject he may be discussing, and ingenious in drawing conclusions from them. When his philological knowledge and judgment are matured sufficiently to keep his imagination in check, his contributions will doubtless be of great value.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

WIEDEMANN has written an elaborate article on the game of drafts

amongst the Egyptians, illustrated by a new text from an ostrakon in the Louvre (*Congr. Geneva*, iv. 37).

PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY OF EGYPT.

The term prehistoric is generally understood to include the Palaeolithic Age of Man, the Neolithic, the Bronze Age, and the period of the first introduction of iron. In some countries history begins before the introduction of iron; in Egypt it seems to begin very early in the Bronze Age. For convenience, however, we may include under the term Prehistoric Archaeology of Egypt not only what is truly prehistoric there—and the limits of this it would be hard as yet to define, even approximately—but also all matters bearing on the question which are in other lands considered to belong especially to the domain of prehistoric archaeology: the use of stone for weapons and implements, the gradual substitution of metals, and the introduction of the potter's wheel. In those countries civilization was less forward in all respects, writing was unknown, and the remains of the early periods consist almost solely of pottery, stone, and metal, and of rude earthworks for defence, for dwellings, and for interments. Egypt, on the other hand, attained the high watermark of culture for the time, and its unrivalled climate preserves a fuller record to the archaeologist than even the lake dwellings can show for certain localities in Europe.

In this department there has been during the past year a sudden increase of interest. The late director of the Department of Antiquities himself, having studied personally the prehistoric remains of Persia and Armenia, was naturally disposed to enter upon the same field of research in Egypt, on his arrival there in 1892. The results of his studies and observations are now given in a volume well written and richly illustrated by the hand of the author himself (*Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte, l'Age de la Pierre et des Métaux*). Egyptologists have either neglected the subject, or treated it with little appreciation and understanding of the work done elsewhere, while outsiders have had few opportunities of making observations in Egypt, and have feared to draw conclusions regarding the Nile Valley from the analogy of other countries. Up to a very recent date the question as to the existence of a palaeolithic, or even of a neolithic age in Egypt has been answered very doubtfully. Implements from Egypt of palaeolithic type are now well known, few disputing their extreme antiquity, and almost assuredly imply the existence also of a later stone age prior to the introduction of

metal. In a country like Egypt, the seat of an advanced civilization which threw out arms of communication and trade in all directions, some of the materials and some of the secrets of the metal-worker must have been early known. But the country itself was poor in metals, and until the time of the Middle Kingdom they were used for articles of ornament and luxury, or for tools of exceptional quality and cost. Gradually they were put to commoner use, but it was not until the XVIIIth Dynasty that bronze was cheap enough to oust stone; and although iron is the most abundant of African metals, and now is freely used by the natives of the interior, the difficulty of smelting and working it so long prevented its employment that the first examples known to exist in Egypt date from the XXIIInd Dynasty. By the time of the XXVIth Dynasty iron had become common.

M. de Morgan begins with a chapter explaining how North Africa rose out of the Eocene seas, and after various vicissitudes the Nile valley was formed. Egypt, as we know it, came into existence in the Pleistocene epoch, and then began the alluvial deposit to which the richness of the soil is due. But before the formation of the Nile valley, palaeolithic man was on the ground, and he has left us, both on the surface of the desert and among the gravels, records of his presence in well formed axes of flint of the same type that are met with in England as far north as Yorkshire, in France, in Germany, and even in India and South Africa.

Of the obscure period of transition from palaeolithic to neolithic man, nothing as yet can be recorded from Egypt; and in dealing with the neolithic period it is difficult to know what to exclude as belonging to the bronze period. M. de Morgan boldly gathers the whole mass of the later stone implements together, attributing them to the Stone Age, and would apparently deny that any but a very exceptional survival of flint is to be found in the historic period and contemporary with bronze. This is a high-handed proceeding, and one hardly to be expected of a professed student of prehistoric times. It must, however, be admitted that in Egypt stone implements have as yet rarely been discovered in tombs even of the earliest historic age, and this is a fact which lends some colour to M. de Morgan's hypothesis. On the other hand, flint knives are regularly figured in XIIth Dynasty scenes of sacrifice, and flint-headed arrows are found in tombs of about the XIth Dynasty. The observations of explorers are distrusted by M. de Morgan, but these at least are facts that he cannot ignore. And Mr. Petrie's observations, referred to in a complimentary manner on more than one page of the

book, are contrary to the author's theory and so have to be set aside as not sufficiently exact, yet anyone who will look through the records in *Kahun*, *Illahun*, and *Tell el Amarna* will see that, unless an enormous mistake has been made, sickles set with flint flakes were in use in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and that in the XIIth Dynasty knives and tools of stone were as abundant as those of metal, a fine specimen with its rush-wrapped handle being found in actual association with metal tools. Moreover, the axes found at Lisht, the great site of the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty (see p. 101 of M. de Morgan's book), are identical with those found at Kahun. It is incredible that such specimens are really neolithic tools which were lying on the surface of the ground when the city of Kahun was built in the XIIth Dynasty, and were afterwards mixed up with the handiwork of its inhabitants. We may therefore take it that in the Middle Kingdom, though bronze was common enough to be regularly used by the tool makers, it was still sufficiently scarce to be supplemented by stone for any purpose to which the latter was well adapted. Doubtless the further back we go the more indispensable shall we find stone to have been, but as yet few observations have been made bearing on this remoter period. The "New Race" with its splendid flint work is of course treated by M. de Morgan as neolithic, and not unjustly, for bronze is of the greatest rarity in connexion with it. Here the highest skill was applied to working the flint, which was then the best material to be had, while at a later period that skill was applied to metal work. I have little hesitation in following M. de Morgan and placing the "New Race" in the prehistoric age. The facts which Mr. Quibell observed at Ballâs, and which are now published, were insufficient to support a theory that two races could live side by side for centuries, the one familiar with the potter's wheel, the art of the metal-worker in bronze, &c., and the other practising the highest art in the making of flint tools and the moulding of pottery by hand, without making use of metal or of the wheel. Mr. Quibell's discoveries during the past year at El Kab threw fresh light on the subject, and we may hope that he will thoroughly reconsider it and help to settle this most important question of the "New Race."

According to M. de Morgan, the Bronze Age was introduced into Egypt by the "Egyptian conquest," i.e. by the race who entered from the East, suppressed the aboriginal inhabitants, and founded the monarchy. It practically extends throughout Egyptian history down to the XXVIth Dynasty. Most of the bronze arrow-heads on p. 210 are of the XXVIth Dynasty or later; but figs. 569,

570 are of Ramesside type, and 567 looks very early, perhaps before the XVIIIth Dynasty.

M. de Morgan displays in this book acuteness and a considerable power of observation, qualities to be expected in so successful an explorer. His work covers the whole ground, is stimulating and independent; and if he has not given due attention to the observations of other scientific men, and his own observations have been marred by impatience and the desire to get brilliant results from excavating the whole of Egypt at once, it will at least rouse more interest in the subject. What is imperatively needed is patient investigation on the spot. The student can by no means look on *L'Age de la Pierre et des Métaux* as an infallible handbook; and in respect of the dating of objects the illustrations to Professor Petrie's little *Ten Years' Diggings* form a better guide.

Mr. Seton Karr has collected a vast number of flints from flint mines and workings in the Eastern desert in the Wady esh Sheikh district, sometimes as far as 30 miles from the Nile. These mines were known to Johnson Pacha 10 years ago, but no one had hitherto visited them for archaeological purposes. According to the *Times*, "At some of the mines were shafts about 2 ft. in diameter, filled up with drifted sand and surrounded by masses of excavated rock neatly arranged. There was usually a central work-place, where most of the objects were discovered, but in some mines a number of clubs or truncheons lay distributed uniformly, as though hurriedly left when the mines were last abandoned." It will be recollected that Mr. Seton Karr formed a large collection of palaeolithic implements in Somaliland, two years ago.

In *Verh. d. Berl. Gesells. für Anthropologie Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (1897, p. 27), Professor Virchow has published two letters of Dr. Schweinfurth with regard to De Morgan's publication, and in connexion with discoveries relating to the earlier periods. Two of Dr. Schweinfurth's observations were of especial importance, viz. that the hair on the skulls discovered by M. Amélineau at Abydos had probably lost colour by age, and might originally have been black, and, that, contrary to the opinion of Dr. Fouquet, the contents of the skulls seemed to have no traces of resin, but were merely the residue of brain. With regard to the first statement, Dr. Virchow agrees that probably some change had taken place in the colour of the hair, but that as the black hair of the Egyptian mummies has retained its colour it is most probable that these ancient people to whom Amélineau's skulls belonged had originally a light-coloured hair, and so were of "Libyan" race. With regard to

the second point, Dr. Salkowski has elaborately analyzed a fragment of the contents of the skulls from Abydos and found a large proportion of resinous matter: a Peruvian skull examined at the same time gave an entirely different result, and no trace of resin.

The contents of a fine "New Race" tomb from Negadeh, and an earthenware boat with figures from another tomb, also from Negadeh—now in the Berlin Museum—are figured (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 158), with description by Schäfer.

In *l'Anthropologie* (viii. 327) S. REINACH reviews at length the recent publications on the prehistoric age in Egypt. He is somewhat cautious regarding the palaeolithic age, as the absolute proof that implements of palaeolithic type in Egypt were made in a different geologic age, having a different fauna to the present, is not yet forthcoming. (In America it is pretty well ascertained that the palaeolithic types of stone implements are contemporary with the other types, and there may be doubt as to whether this is not also the case with those from Somaliland, South Africa, and India.)

In *Beni Hasan III.* the present writer has published two examples of a scene of manufacturing flint knives. The tombs in which these are represented date from the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty, and, such subjects being taken from the ordinary occupations of the people, they furnish a new proof of the prevalence of flint-working in that age. In the same volume are many facsimiles of drawings of knives in these tombs, most of them being clearly of flint. They are in the hands of cooks and butchers sacrificing oxen, and in some cases a sharpening tool is being applied to them.

ANTIQUITIES AND ARCHAEOLOGY.

A Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Possession of F. G. Hilton Price, is a catalogue of an important collection prepared by Mr. Price himself. It contains figures of many rare specimens: such objects as the weight of Khufu, the model of an Archimedean screw, the bronze figure of a bat with folded wings, arrest our attention at once in turning over the pages.

PETRIE (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xxx. 30) publishes fragments of an ebony casket of the time of Amenhetep III., from the Rhind collection. It is inlaid with ivory and gold and has a figure of Bes in relief. Professor Petrie has some interesting remarks on this deity, in both its female and male form, and connects it with Arabia.

G. BÉNÉDITE describes a beautiful statue of Queen Karoama of the XXIInd Dynasty, at the Louvre. This statue was obtained by Champollion, but for years its delicate workmanship and fine gold inlay were almost hidden by incrustation. It has recently been cleaned and displays the queen as Isis-Hathor (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*).

Beni Hasan III., with 6 coloured plates of hieroglyphs, and 4 coloured plates illustrating the manufacture and use of flint knives; reviewed by MASPERO (*Rev. Crit.* xliii. 201).

In the most beautiful Egyptological plates that have appeared this year STEINDORFF has published the 3 coffins of Mentuhetep in the Berlin Museum, with all the furniture discovered in the tomb by Passalacqua. Archaeologically this publication is extremely valuable, and the explanations by the editor are much to the point. (*Das Grab des Mentuhetep*, Heft. viii. of *Mitth. a. d. Orient. Samml. z. Berlin.*)

The tomb of Anna (Abd el Kurna) has been published by H. BOUSSAC (*Miss. Arch. au Caire*, xviii. 1); 16 plates in colours. These plates are from water colour sketches which won a medal at the Salon of 1892, and their interest is chiefly artistic. The tomb which they represent is, however, of considerable importance, and this may have influenced the editor to publish them among the works of the *Mission*, of which M. Boussac was a member. As for the inscriptions, the editor promises to supply accurate copies in the text.

In Devéria's *Mémoires* (i. 145) there is a fragment of some length on the use of the sedan chair in Egypt.

FINE ART, ARTS AND CRAFTS.

A new French writer has come to the fore in M. G. FOUCART, who has written a very able book on the Lotus Column in Egypt: "the most complete and important study that has been published on any single item of Egyptian archaeology," and "a grateful contrast to the piles of showy volumes full of errors of transcription and drawing which have rapidly loaded the shelves of Egyptology in recent years." It is noticed in a brilliant review by PETRIE (*Journal of R. Inst. of British Arch.* iv. 361). The book is full of valuable facts and references, and the review is very stimulating and suggestive.

Foucart also reviews Petrie's *Egyptian Decorative Art* (*Rev. Arch.* xxix. 267). He well appreciates these brilliant essays; but his doubt as to the explanation of the *dad* sign will be echoed by many. He also deals with the conventions of Egyptian artists when representing archi-

tectural subjects, in an illustrated article containing several noteworthy observations (*Rev. Arch.* xxix. p. 279).

STEINDORFF (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 107) writes a short article on the correspondence of the principal parts of a temple and tomb with those recognized by Borchardt in the plans of the houses of Kahun and of the palace of Tell el Amarna.

BORCHARDT (*ibid.* 122) deals with the same subject in describing the temple of Luxor, of which he gives the architectural history. The principal cause of the remarkable change of axis in Rameses' addition of the hypostyle court is the position of a chapel of Thothmes III. in the direct central line. Behind the site of this court of Rameses, Amenhetep III. had projected and commenced a great basilica hall, with nave and aisles supported by columns. This was unfinished at his death, and the nave alone completed summarily by Tutankhamen. The article is full of excellent observation, and promises well for the future study of Egyptian architecture. Unfortunately, during its recent excavation, the ruins of the upper part of this temple were thrown into the river, so that little can now be ascertained about the method of roofing and lighting employed. It is to be hoped that future excavators will bear this lesson in mind.

In *Sitz. b. d. Königl. Akad. zu Berlin* (1896, p. 1199), Borchardt also reports upon the architectural condition of the temple buildings at Philae. In *A. Z.* (xxxiv. 69) he gives two mason's drafts, one of a column from the great temple of Philae, and one of a cornice at Edfu: both of these are Ptolemaic. The latter was probably for the great pylon; the former was for a certain column on the east side of the outer court. He also notes an ellipse described on a wall of the Luxor temple.

In the former journal (1897, p. 752) Borchardt likewise sets forth some most important evidence bearing on the date of the Great Sphinx. The ribbing of the royal headdress is of the style which he shows to be peculiar to statues belonging to the Middle Kingdom. This general date may probably be narrowed down to the end of the XIIth Dynasty, and possibly all the statues in question may represent Amenemhat III., one of the most active kings in monumental work. Borchardt, further, supports in part Bissing's valuable observation, that the use of eye-paint in prolonging the lines of the eye is not indicated under the early Old Kingdom, but admits that it is occasionally found in the VIth Dynasty. He also states that sphinxes did not in early times represent deities but kings, and that the Gizeh Museum statues of Old Kingdom

kings are of later fabrication. All these are points which we hope that he will work out more completely.

BISSING (*Rec. de Tr.* xviii. 132) writes on the technique of heads of statues in the Saïte period, and traces Greek influence in one class of them.

Miss M. MURRAY (*P. S. B. A.* xix. 77) publishes facsimile of hieroglyphs sketched in ink on an unfinished stela of Amenhetep II., found by Mr. Petrie at Thebes.

ARAB ANTIQUITIES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

CASANOVA completes his History of the Citadel of Cairo, in the 5th fasc. of vol. vi. of the *Méms. du Mus. au Caire*.

VON BERCHEM (*Corpus inscript. arab.* fasc. 2, *Miss. arch. franc.* xix.). This contains the Cairo inscriptions of the time of the Bahrite memlouks. It is illustrated with very fine photographic plates and is altogether a most valuable work. The first part, containing the earlier inscriptions of Cairo, appeared in 1894.

PERSONAL, &c.

The *Sphinx* (i. 254) contains obituary notices of Dr. VON NIEMEYER, dragoman at the German Consulate, at one time an enthusiastic student of Egyptology, and of CHARLES WILBOUR. The last was the friend of every Egyptologist who visited Egypt, and a skilful reader of hieroglyphs, whose enthusiasm for the study, however, never led him into print. Unhappily his only direct contributions to Egyptology were two cards of New Year's greetings, in which he informed his friends of the canalization of the 1st cataract by Usertesen III., and of the record of seven years' famine at Sehêl.

MASPERO (*Congr. Geneva*, iv. 95) gives a sketch of H. BRUGSCH. ERMAN (*A. Z.* xxxiv. 90) gives a short notice of the publisher ROST, whose enterprise made easy the way for the *Zeitschrift* and many other Egyptological works.

The supplement of the Munich *Allgemeine Zeitung* for May 20th, 1897, contained an article by Professor Steindorff, of Leipzig, on the retirement of M. de Morgan from the post of Director-General of Antiquities in Egypt. In it the writer dwells on the trained professional skill, the thoroughness and success, with which M. de Morgan carried on his excavations, and, for the most part, duly published his results. If his great plan of cataloguing all the exposed monuments still *in situ* and the ruined sites of Egypt has failed of fulfilment, this is chiefly

due to the fact that he attempted not merely to catalogue them, but to publish all *in extenso*, a task far beyond the combined powers of himself and his assistants.

But the article is mainly concerned with the future administration of the Department of Antiquities in Egypt, and the writer proceeds: "Now that the Egyptian Government is about to select a new Director-General from among the French candidates, we cherish a hope that the choice may fall, not upon a man capable only of dealing with the study of Egyptian inscriptions, but upon someone of practical training, like De Morgan, and especially fitted for the work of excavation and the architectural investigation of the monuments. . . . Had we to choose between a learned Egyptologist or a clever architect or engineer, we should unconditionally give the preference to the latter."

But whatever he may be, the new Director-General will have a rich field for his labours. Not that it is well to expect from him sensational discoveries such as those of the royal mummies at Deir el Bahri, or the gold jewellery at Dahshur, nor that the clearing and restoration of the temples should proceed at a still greater rate to furnish sights for the tourist, nor that the number of scenes and inscriptions already awaiting study should be largely increased by further excavations. The first imperative demand on the new chief is for radical reform in the control of Egyptian excavations, the manner in which these are now practised having become a crying scientific scandal. Professor Steindorff quotes and emphatically endorses the words of Dr. Schweinfurth: "Important sites have been looted by utterly uneducated persons, who afterwards disposed of their 'finds' as mere wares in the Cairene antiquity market. In consequence of the imperfect supervision generally given to foreign excavators, this progressive exhaustion of the Egyptian soil has assumed the dimensions of positive treason to the cause of science."¹ He then cites a few flagrant instances of amateur and mercenary excavations on important sites during the last season "under the eyes and with the consent of the Egyptian Government. . . . At the request of a native consular agent in Luxor, a near relative of his was empowered to make excavations in part of the Theban necropolis on condition that such finds as might be forthcoming should be divided with the Museum at Gizeh. The man in question was altogether uneducated, and his sole aim in the business of excavation was to procure things for sale. . . . It is obvious that in the course of such proceedings objects of no market value, though scientifically as precious as the finest show specimens, would be cast aside, and no notice be taken of remains illustrative of natural history, while not even an attempt would be made at an accurate record of provenance. No less barbarous is the way in which the ancient necropolis of Eshmunên (Hermopolis Magna)—until then almost untouched—was plundered last year by a company of Cairene dealers, and the spoils scattered throughout the antiquity markets of the world. The history of that necropolis none will ever know: the site is irrevocably destroyed. These instances might easily be multiplied tenfold. . . . The permission to excavate should be granted only to such scientific men or architects as offer complete security for the exact observation and noting of all that is found, however insignificant, and who accept the responsibility of making prompt and exhaustive publication of the results of their investigations."

"It is also eminently desirable that M. de Morgan's project of cataloguing the Egyptian antiquities and monuments still *in situ* should not be allowed to drop, but that it should be carried out on a modest scale after the style of a compact, scientific Museum-Catalogue. Thus, not only would the foundation be laid for the

¹ For Dr. Schweinfurth's indictment, see *Archaeological Report*, 1895-6 (pp. 37-9).

topography of Ancient Egypt, but scholars would also thereby be furnished with a well arranged handbook to the accessible monuments and inscriptions in the country."

A further legacy to the new Director from his official predecessors is the duty of making full and scientific publication of the results of former excavations. "Not only is there no full publication of the funeral outfit of Aahhetep, which first revealed to us the treasures of the Egyptian goldsmith's art, but even the world-renowned mastabas of Ty and Ptahhetep, excavated by Mariette—as to the artistic and archaeological importance of which no word is needed—are still unpublished. The publication of the Serapeum discovered by Mariette has never been completed. As for the royal mummies and their belongings found in the pit at Deir el Bahri, the discovery of which sixteen years ago excited such wide and well-founded enthusiasm, although M. Maspero has dealt exhaustively with this in its historical aspects, and also given an inventory of the objects found, there is still needed a full illustrated account, including objects which at first might have appeared insignificant. And we have no publications of the mastabas of Mereru. ke (Mery), Kagemni, and Ptah. shepses, discovered by M. de Morgan. For these we trust that we are not to be kept waiting much longer, and that their appearance is not relegated to the Greek Kalends in consequence of M. de Morgan's departure. Here again, we have indicated only a few of the more obvious instances of neglected responsibilities. . . . It cannot be urged that the means are wanting for such costly publications. The claims of science in the matter could be met by setting aside annually the cost of a single excavation if the publications were instituted on a modest scale, after the style of Flinders Petrie's Memoirs. But that excavations should be made and their results—no matter how insignificant—withheld from the world of learning is a course of proceeding against which no protest is too strong."

Herr Steindorff then points out how impossible it is for a single official adequately to supervise excavations and the preservation of the monuments and ruins, and at the same time to administer the Museum of Cairo, the greatest Egyptian museum in the world. On the lowest computation this museum (founded by Mariette 1857-8) contains—apart from its stores—four times as many antiquities as the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, where "one director, two assistant keepers, and several assistants are barely adequate to the official and scientific work for which they are responsible." . . . In the Museum at Cairo "there are at present—apart from clerks—the chief, two keepers (*conservateurs*), two assistant keepers (*conservateur-adjoints*), an artist (*inspecteur-dessinateur*), and a restorer (*conservateur-réparateur*). Their employment is by no means confined to the administration of the Museum, but is largely connected with excavations and the charge of the monuments in the country. By reason of his extensive excavations M. de Morgan himself could devote but a scanty portion of the year to his duties as chief of the Museum, and the services of one assistant keeper, the artist and the restorer, were likewise mostly claimed by work lying outside its walls. The remaining officials—one keeper and one assistant keeper—are Arabs, with slight scientific training, who can do little therefore but attend to the ordinary routine business. For years, in fact, the whole administration of the Museum has rested in the hands of a single keeper, Emil Brugsch-Bey, a German, and brother of the renowned Egyptologist, Heinrich Brugsch, who died but a few years ago. It is obvious that under such administrative conditions a scientific institution of the size and importance of the Cairo Museum cannot fail to suffer. For instance, the Museum has no full, scientific, and accessible catalogue to specify each antiquity and its provenance. During certain years such an inventory was more or less kept for others it is

altogether wanting, and the sources of various objects can at best be ascertained from memory (!), sometimes not at all. Yet Mariette, the founder of the Museum, once stated that, unlike the European collections in which, generally speaking, the provenance of even the most important objects could not be specified, in the new Museum this should be known of the most insignificant antiquity. In walking down the long rows in the Museum one is surprised how few exhibits are provided with explanatory labels. The visitor who is not a specialist gazes on most of them, unable to find any answer to his questions as to what they represent, to what period they belong, and whence they came. This defect obviously frustrates the educational purpose of the Museum, nor is there any useful guide to remedy it. The masterly and really classical catalogues of Mariette and Maspero are no longer of practical service since the transfer of the Museum from Bulak to Gizeh, and the consequent rearrangement of the antiquities. The present guide is so untrustworthy and scientifically defective as to be no substitute for them. If a satisfactory handbook is demanded by the multitude of tourists which annually visit the Museum, no less do Egyptologists demand the systematic publication of the many treasures stored there, or at least a descriptive catalogue of them. But without a complete change in the system of administration these wants will remain unsatisfied, and the evils described grow into an irremediable injury to science.

"It is absolutely essential that the important post of General Director of the Antiquities, responsible for the preservation of monuments and the conduct of excavations, and that of the Chief of the Archaeological Museum should no longer, as hitherto, be united in one person, but that a separate staff should be appointed for the administration of the Museum. . . . The work to be done there can be accomplished only under the guidance of a chief, who shall devote the whole of his strength and energy to the department over which he presides, and who shall be solely responsible for it. If such an appointment is delayed, the responsibility devolves upon those in power, and science will *not* be slow to hold them responsible for their grave offence, and for the irreparable losses thereby inflicted upon her—and openly to impeach them. *Videant Consules!*"

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

B.—GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT.

THE year 1896-7 has been a fat year, a year of discoveries recalling the sensations of 1891. Of the most extensive of these discoveries, those made by the Egypt Exploration Fund itself, it is not necessary to speak in detail, as they are described in another part of this Report. It is sufficient here to record that they rival in bulk the great finds of Arsinoë and Socnopaei Nesus, and are distinguished from both of these by the quantity of literary material contained in them. It is true that, so far as at present known, the literary documents are very fragmentary; but even fragments, when they include such things as Sayings of our Lord, third-century Gospels, and stanzas of Sappho, may be matters of the greatest interest. It may confidently be expected that the new

Graeco-Roman Branch of the Fund will supply materials for this Report for many years to come.

The past year has, however, also produced a literary find of greater size than any of those from Oxyrhynchus, one which, in fact, may claim to be the most important, from the purely literary point of view, that the sands of Egypt have yet brought forth. In December last the British Museum announced the acquisition of a papyrus containing the lost poems of Bacchylides, a lyric poet of the great age of Greek literature, the contemporary and rival of Pindar. The papyrus was unfortunately terribly mutilated, and much of it has been wholly lost. It has been a work of considerable trouble to place the multitudinous fragments in their proper places, but it is work which amply repays the time spent upon it. In the state to which it has now been restored the manuscript contains some 1800 lines (besides some unplaced fragments, mostly very small, and in no case containing a complete line), and of these nearly a thousand are either complete or admit of fairly certain restoration. There is thus ample material for forming a sound estimate of the poet's quality; and though we do not find in him a new Pindar, we find a writer of considerable grace and elegance, valuable and interesting on his own account, and one by whose help we can appreciate Pindar's genius more justly and accurately than before. It is, however, unnecessary to deal with him here at length, since it may be hoped that the poems themselves will see the light not much later than this Report.

Three literary texts are published in the new part of the *Rainer Mittheilungen*. One of these is the fragments of the *Hecale* of Callimachus,¹ which were provisionally published by Professor Gomperz some years ago, but now are definitely and officially re-issued, with a few additional remarks. In this instance the text is not preserved on papyrus, but on a board, something like a large school slate, and evidently intended for school purposes. On one side were written extracts from the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, on the other from Callimachus' miniature epic. They are written in four columns, and about one-third of the height of the board has been preserved. The date appears to be of the fourth century A.D.

The other literary texts in the *Mittheilungen* are two papyri of Xenophon, which are published by Wessely.² One is from the *Cyropaedia* (v. 2. 3—v. 3. 23, imperfect), of the second century, the other, which is more extensive, from the *Hellenica* (i. 2. 2—5. 8), of the third century, being written on the *verso* of a papyrus containing a tax-register of the end of the second century. In neither case are the textual variants

important; and the general effect of their testimony is to confirm the conclusion already derived from most of the literary papyri which have hitherto come to light, in favour of the substantial soundness of our existing classical texts.

The minor literary publications of the year include an interesting fragment edited by Professor Mahaffy, which he regards as a portion of a romance.³ It is written on the back of a papyrus, on the *recto* of which are accounts of the first century, and appears itself to belong to the beginning of the second century; and it gives, in a kind of poetical prose, a vigorous description of a storm at sea and of the appearance, at the height of the tempest, of the St. Elmo's fire, which settles upon the yards of the ship. The narrative is in the first person, and certainly has the air of a romance, though this has been disputed by Crusius⁴ with arguments which do not seem convincing.

The only literary text which remains to be mentioned (apart from those in Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt's volume noticed below) is one published by the present writer, a handsomely written fragment of a work dealing with the customs of some people or tribe, apparently the Spartans.⁵ The work to which it belongs may have been a treatise on the Lacedaemonian constitution, though it is also possible that it was merely a general ethical treatise. Together with this document is published a non-literary text which throws light on the powers of Roman officials in Egypt to requisition camels for the public service.⁶ Both texts are from papyri in the British Museum.

A useful, but incomplete, catalogue of the literary texts which have up to now been found upon papyrus has been published by M. P. Couvreur.⁷

Mr. Grenfell has been active, as usual, both in the discovery and in the publication of texts, and having associated with himself Mr. A. S. Hunt, of Queen's College, Oxford (Senior Demy of Magdalen College and Craven University Fellow), has produced a second volume of Greek papyri.⁸ The majority of these are non-literary, and the literary fragments are small; but some among them are of special interest. The most important is a scrap of the very early Ionian writer, Pherecydes, dealing with the marriage of Zeus and Hera. By extraordinary good fortune this small fragment included one of the known quotations from Pherecydes, which was recognized by Mr. Leaf, and the identity of the author thus established. It adds something to our knowledge of early Greek prose, and (as usual) subverts the theories which had been based on the extant fragments. Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt also publish

some Homer fragments of the third century B.C., which, like those previously published by Mahaffy and Nicole, contain additional lines not existing in the vulgate text, but in one case (which adds to their interest) quoted by Plutarch. This phenomenon, which might fairly be disregarded when found only in one or two instances, assumes a different importance when it is found to be nearly universal in the earliest papyri; though it is to be remembered that all these probably come from the same district, and that the additional lines have so far not been of a striking character.

In addition, Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt publish some scraps of unknown authors of the third century B.C., very small but palaeographically interesting; some small portions of Demosthenes' *De Falsa Legatione* and *Contra Phormionem*; a fragment subsequently identified by Gomperz as from Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (i. 3. 15—4. 3); and a Christian document of some interest, being a Festal Letter from a bishop to his flock, very handsomely written in a hand apparently of the sixth century.

The non-literary documents in the same volume are mainly of the Roman period, and are of miscellaneous character, including an assortment of toll receipts for the transit of goods between the villages of the Faiyûm, certificates of labour done on the embankments (five days in the year was the quota required), and letters, receipts, &c., of the usual kind. Palaeographically, these papyri fill some gaps in our knowledge, by providing dated specimens round about the years 300 and 400. The Ptolemaic documents are very perfect in many cases, and provide excellent palaeographical specimens, but add little to what was contained in Mr. Grenfell's earlier volume, being contracts of sale or loans of the same kind, and with the same formulae. It should be added that the acquisition of several of them is due to the munificence of Mr. E. R. Bevan, who has presented them to the British Museum. There are also some Byzantine documents and a few Latin fragments. The indices to the volume are very full and elaborate, and there are some useful facsimiles.

Three parts of the Berlin publication⁹ have appeared during the past year, containing eighty-five documents, which brings up the total number of papyri published by Messrs. Wilcken, Krebs, and Viereck to 696. The documents contained in the new parts are mostly of the same character as those which have preceded them, and do not call for detailed notice; but among them is a Latin papyrus of some length (edited by Gradenwitz) containing imperial edicts relating to appeals to the emperor and the privileges of veterans (No. 628). The date is not stated. There is also (No. 646) a communication from the epistrategus of the

Heptanomis and the Arsinoïte nome to the strategî in his district, inclosing an order for public rejoicings and sacrifices on the accession of Pertinax (A.D. 193). Professor Mommsen also re-publishes the Latin military roll of the year 156, giving the strength of a cavalry cohort stationed at Apollinopolis, which he had already published with commentary in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (vii. 456-467), and which also appears in the facsimiles of the Palaeographical Society (2nd series, No. 165).

Among articles dealing with the previously published Berlin papyri may be mentioned one by Mommsen, discussing Nos. 267, 326, and 388;¹⁰ and the last of these documents is also the subject of an article by M. Dareste.¹¹ Professor Wilcken's publications are this year limited to a single article, based upon Berl. Pap. 15, in answer to Professor Gradenwitz.¹² Some very useful work has been done by Dr. Paul Meyer in bringing together some of the results to be gathered from the Berlin and other papyri on the marriage privileges of the Roman soldiers in Egypt under Trajan,¹³ the list of the Prefects of Egypt, which the papyri enable us to correct and amplify,¹⁴ and the meaning of the rather obscure technical terms *κάτοικοι* and *ἐπίκρισις*.¹⁵ Another new worker in the field of papyri has appeared in the person of Mr. Stanislaus Witkowski, who, as an appendix to an essay on the grammatical importance of Greek papyri, has published a number of corrections to papyri already edited, especially those of Paris, of which the texts in the *Notices et Extraits* are notoriously imperfect.¹⁶ M. Theodore Reinach, as once before, follows Wilcken in discussing a papyrus relating to a Jewish embassy to the Emperor Claudius (*cf.* No. 6 in last year's Report).¹⁷

The Greek inscriptions found by Professor Petrie at Koptos in 1893-4 have been edited by Mr. Hogarth,¹⁸ the largest and most important of them being a table of the tolls imposed on traffic by the great caravan road from Koptos to Berenice on the Red Sea. This inscription, which is now in the Gizeh Museum, has also been edited, with five others (two in metre), by M. P. Jouguet.¹⁹ Other inscriptions found in Egypt have been published by MM. Cagnat²⁰ and Schwarz,²¹ and a collection of ostraka by M. H. Graillat.²²

Professor Mahaffy's history of the Ptolemies, which was noticed in last year's Report, has been quickly followed by another work on the same subject by Dr. Strack;²³ but this I can do no more than barely mention, not having yet had an opportunity of reading it. A single aspect of the Ptolemaic dynasty is treated in a magazine article by Dr. Kaerst,²⁴ who traces back the conferring of divine honours upon the sovereign to the time of Alexander himself; and the foundation of

Macedonian rule in Egypt is handled in a fresh and suggestive, though necessarily brief, fashion in Mr. Hogarth's brilliant essay on the two great kings of Macedon.²⁴

The publication of the second volume of the British Museum catalogue of Greek papyri²⁵ has been delayed by the appearance of Bacchylides, which takes precedence by right of its greater and more general interest; but I hope that the catalogue, part of which is already printed, will appear in the course of the coming year—a year which seems likely to provide ample material for students of the remains, literary and otherwise, of Graeco-Roman Egypt.

F. G. KENYON.

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C.—COPTIC STUDIES.

1. *Biblical*. The first of a series of articles appearing in the *Revue Biblique* and dealing with the Coptic versions of the Bible was noticed in last year's Report. Their writer, Prof. Hyvernat, has by now completed them,¹ and given us thereby an exceedingly useful work, which will be of great service to all interested in the subject. And since the Hesychian recension—the once current Bible, that is, of a considerable portion of eastern Christendom—is still to be recovered, the subject must be among the most important to students of the Septuagint. Prof. Hyvernat's treatise consists of (1) a brief discussion of the peculiarities of the various dialects—no fewer than four—into which translations of the Greek Bible were made; (2) a list, which appears to be exhaustive up to the last year or so's acquisitions, of the known MSS. in each dialect (with dates for the Bohairic MSS.); (3) a description of all publications of these texts; (4) a discussion of the dates of the Coptic versions, the author drawing attention to the manner in which Graeco-Coptic bilingual texts of the 6th or 7th centuries may influence this question; (5) an estimate of the nature and importance of the versions, both relatively one to another, and for the reconstruction of a Greek text. It will be seen that this work in its 2nd and 3rd sections embraces a larger field than the lists either of Ciasca, Maspero or Headlam (in *Scrivener*), no one of which deals both with Old and New Testament together.

In printing, some years ago, certain valuable fragments from the Achmîmic version of the Minor Prophets, M. Maspero was well aware of the probable inadequacies of the only copy then available. M. Bouriant has since had the good fortune to obtain that part of the original MS. made use of by his predecessor and, adding thereto other fragments, publishes the whole afresh.² Further portions of this same MS. in Vienna (see *Mittheil. Rainer*, II—III, 264) help to make it the

most important biblical document in the dialect as yet known. The text itself shows a relationship first to the one, then to the other of the better preserved versions, the proximity being on the whole closer, as one would expect, to the Saïdic.

Under this heading may be mentioned, since its most important contents are biblical, the much needed reissue of Lagarde's *Aegyptiaca*, first printed in 1883. From the photograph published in the meanwhile by Rossi (*I Papiri Copti I.*), one can see that the Turin MS. whence Lagarde's biblical texts were taken is among the finest caligraphic as well as philological monuments.

2. *Patristic.* M. Basset has included in his series of Ethiopic Apocrypha a translation of the Rule of S. Pachomius.³ He is the first translator for whom M. Amélineau's Coptic Life of the saint has been available and to it he makes constant reference. Pachomius, whose dates (following Grützmacher) he gives as 285—345, was probably at most but the author of the shortest, i.e. the Palladian, version of the Rule; the third version, or rather paraphrase, M. Basset believes to be of late, Ethiopic origin. It was indeed in Ethiopia that the Pachomian Rule was most popular. It is remarkable that from Egypt, its original home, no version is preserved. This may of course be due merely to a chance, such as that which has given us so many fragments of the Sinuthian Rule from Achmîm, and left us on the other hand ignorant as to the primitive observance in the Nitrian communities.

The present writer has printed what was legible of a palimpsest, containing parts of a narrative of the disturbances resulting from Justinian's interference in the Alexandrine patriarchal appointments.⁴

3. *Gnostic and Magical.* Two translations of the *Pistis Sophia* are this year to be noticed; the earlier, by M. Amélineau,⁵ could only be mentioned in last year's Report. On inspection it proves to be at any rate a readable book, and yet does not give renderings too far removed from the intentions of the Coptic text. In a popular introduction of some thirty pages, the translator deals with the authorship of the work, which he ascribes, as before, to Valentinus himself. He goes at length into the attractive but easily misleading analogies between Gnostic and ancient Egyptian eschatology, finding in the latter several doctrines which appear to resemble features in the system of the *Pistis*. On p. ix. are certain arguments for dating the MS. of the work in the 9th or 10th century, instead of in the 5th or 6th. It is true that the greater part of the volume is written in a peculiar and undoubtedly puzzling hand; but other parts of it certainly show a script which, unless our

dating of Greek uncials is to prove radically at fault, must be assigned to a relatively earlier period. To support a later date by the statement that parchment was "not commonly used before the 6th or 7th century" seems, in the case of a MS. such as that in question, a scarcely more weighty argument than it would be if applied to the great biblical MSS. It is as little probable in the one case as in the other that such volumes were intended for common, popular use.

The second translation is that made for the Theosophical Publishing Society by Mr. G. R. S. Mead⁶ from the Latin version of Schwartz. In the passages which we have tested, Mr. Mead's English appears to represent the Coptic as accurately at any rate as does the Latin. The translation is preceded by a succinct description of all previous works on the subject, and by a description of the MS. These portions of Mr. Mead's book contain a few statements which it may be useful here to notice. The Oxford treatise on the powers of the letters is attributed by its scribe to Apa Seba (Sabas), not to Atasius, as misread in Uri's catalogue (p. xix.), the publication of Rossi which the author sought for in vain (p. xx.) is to be found in the Turin *Memorie*, ser. ii., t. xliii. So far from being all the work of a single scribe (p. xxvii.), the MS. of the *Pistis* shows at least two, probably three, different hands—a fact partly recognized by Schwartz (text, p. 124) and noticed also by the present writer (*Coptic MSS.*, p. 3) and capable of clearing up important problems of the text, such as that of the occasional "titles" or headings (p. xxix.). It is true that the theological magazine referred to by Köstlin is not to be found in London (p. xl.). The title is, however, correct; it was a short-lived German publication of the last century. The copies made from Gnostic MSS. by Dulaurier are now preserved in the Paris National Library (p. xxxviii.). Not the least valuable feature of Mr. Mead's work is the analytical table of contents prefixed to it.

It will be of interest to many to know that Dr. C. Schmidt, the editor of the Bruce MS., is preparing a complete translation of the *Pistis* to appear in the new patristic series of the Berlin Academy.

Under the title of *A Coptic Spell of the 2nd Century* Mr. F. Legge has reprinted certain lines of the great Paris magical papyrus from Wessely's edition.⁷ The passage is one of those, numerous in the MS., which contain a mixture of Greek and Coptic, but it is not included in Erman's edition (*A. Z.* 1883). Mr. Legge has done well therefore to call attention to it. But his treatment of the Coptic text is scarcely satisfactory. He has contented himself with adopting for the most part

Wessely's and Revillout's readings. It will suffice for the present to point out that in place of Mr. Legge's ingenious "divine name" Isaspe, the text has merely the words "the seven" (*sc.* olive branches?); that instead of "laugh at," we should read "be"; that instead of "this Ethiopian Satan," the words mean merely "the Satan that is upon him." The chief interest of such texts as these lies of course in the examples they preserve of some of the earliest attempts to use the Greek character for the transcription of continuous passages. As in the other specimens of the kind, the idiom seems to combine features subsequently found separately in the southern and northern dialects.

An Oxford papyrus, containing a prayer for vengeance upon certain of its author's private enemies and employing expressions with a so-called Gnostic colouring, has been edited by the present writer,* who has also printed, from the later text of the above-mentioned palimpsest, a Coptic version of the prayer of the Virgin among the Parthians ("Bartos").⁹ He would here add that an edition of the Ethiopic version of the latter by Dr. Conti Rossini has since been brought to his notice.¹⁰

4. *Philological.* Professor Erman has shown, in his *Bruchstücke Koptischer Volksliteratur*,¹¹ how much may be made from such unpromising material as a few stray paper leaves bearing fragments of apparently unimportant texts and written by careless scribes in the eleventh century. These leaves contain remnants of popular tales and songs, some liturgical, some secular. Among the former was the history of the monk Archylides and his mother Syncletice, a story of Solomon (in the rôle of magician) and the Queen of Sheba, and that of Theodosius and Dionysius and their advancement from the rank of humble labourers to the imperial and patriarchal thrones respectively. It may here be mentioned that the *Annals* of Eutychius relate the same legend of another pair of friends (see Renandot, *Hist. Patr.* 104). Of the songs some are of a hortatory character, others are in honour of the Virgin. Several of the texts have interesting rubrics relating to their public recital. But it was not the subject-matter of these fragments which impelled Prof. Erman to devote so much pains to their publication. In the first place the dialect they show is, he holds, an example not of provincialism or ignorance in the writers, but of a deliberate literary idiom which, in the later periods of the Coptic language, developed from the ancient Sa'idic and of which we know very little. And secondly, these texts appear to preserve some of the extremely rare specimens of Egyptian formal poetry, i.e. metrical verse as opposed to compositions "poetical" only in the ideas they contain; and thus they may prove of the greatest

service as a standard by which to recognize the metres of the more ancient literature.

Among the essays collected in honour of Professor Ebers' sixtieth birthday,¹² Dr. von Lemm has contributed one dealing with various linguistic details,—(1) his recognition of the form *mmo* as singular of the antiquated plural imperative *mmēiten*; (2) of *oulōm* as the Sa'idic counterpart of *mrōm ἐμβρύμιον*, "pillow"; (3) and of the name of Eustochius of Antioch in the Turin encomium upon Athanasius. Incidentally we are glad to hear that the same scholar is preparing an edition of the important Martyrdom of S. Victor, previously edited by M. Bouriant.

Professor F. Rossi published in 1895 a short article with transcriptions of three Turin ostraca, two of which were already known from Stern's paper in the *Zeitschrift* of 1878. The reverse of one of the latter bears however the continuation of the text in cryptographic characters, and this apparently puzzled the earlier as well as the later editor. In an additional note Professor Rossi has now given their solution,¹³ aided presumably by the transcription of a similar text in Hyvernât's *Album paléographique*. Both these and the other cases of Coptic cryptograms are after all but examples of the well-known Greek system, the key to which may be seen in Gardthausen's *Paläographie*, p. 235.

In his organ, the *Sphinx*, Professor Piehl has a lengthy criticism of Steindorff's Grammar¹⁴ which, among several noteworthy observations, contains statements showing that the critic prefers, in certain questions at any rate, the views of the older to those of the Berlin philologists. Professor Piehl is justified in regretting that none of the younger Coptic scholars have much knowledge of demotic, which he holds would give better material for comparisons than is afforded by the more distant hieroglyphic periods. But some of his discussions are based mainly on hypotheses: that, for example, as to the extent to which the Coptic and more ancient alphabets correspond, or as to the relative ignorance of the later and earlier scribes. The sign treated in Berlin as *ʾAin* Professor Piehl still regards as a vowel, and he has certain observations on the nature of the vowel in the syllable which sufficiently indicate his attitude.

In the same publication Professor Piehl, incited presumably by the recent work of Professor Atkinson, spends much pains in displaying the weaknesses of M. Bouriant's edition of the texts relative to the Council of Ephesus.¹⁵ The errors of the latter are certainly pretty numerous, though several of those cited are in reality free rather than faulty.

translations. The emendations proposed are, however, for the most part improvements.

Two more works have appeared from the pen of Professor Labib of the Clerical College at Cairo, whose Coptic-Arabic Grammar—now, we are glad to see, in its second edition—was spoken of in the Report for 1894-95. The first of the new works is a small elementary "Reading Book" (as it is called in English on the cover),¹⁶ which consists of tables of syllables and words, phrases giving employment to verbs, tables and exercises on the numerals (where it may be noticed that *Senhâr* is not rightly represented by *Siounhâr*), passages, such as the Lord's Prayer, for learning by heart, dialogues in a quite Ollendorffian style, and, finally, "European" (i.e. French) phrases transcribed into Arabic letters with Coptic translations. The Coptic equivalents in this last section are for the most part sufficiently arbitrary, and we doubt whether the object at which the writer presumably aims—the revival of a colloquial Coptic—can be attained, or indeed is to be desired. A movement in that direction seems curiously at variance with the tendencies expressed by the writer of the excellent article—we believe him to be M. Simaika—on the actual aims of enlightened Copts of to-day in the *Contemporary*.¹⁷

Professor Labib's other work is the first volume of a Coptic-Arabic Dictionary, extending to the letter K.¹⁸ There is, says the author, no dictionary available for native students, the *Sullam* of Ibn 'As-âl never having been printed (except indeed by Kircher), and the present work is therefore a natural sequel to the author's Grammar. Its composition has been slow and the book appears to be exhaustive. Indeed the number of words it contains is one of its demerits; for beyond the material offered by older works—including for instance the lists collected by Goodwin, which the author accepts without question, though sometimes suggesting different etymologies, &c.—Professor Labib has included a large number of Greek words, gathered apparently from the *Sullams*, i.e. ultimately from the Bible and liturgical books, though he does not seem always to be aware of their foreign origin (e.g. *berzelia* is given as Sa'idic, *kasouli* as Bohairic). The every-day use of the ecclesiastical books is, no doubt, an excuse for such a system in a work designed for the Egyptian public at large. All the dialects, even the Achmîmic, are represented. The words are arranged in the European fashion, the sequence of the internal vowels being regarded as well as that of the consonants.

Of the numerous Coptic tombstones scattered throughout the museums no comprehensive publication yet exists. MM. Revillout and Bouriant have edited a good number, and M. B. Turaef has recently added an

interesting specimen from Gizeh, specially valuable as bearing a date (A.D. 786).¹⁹ Its text contains formulae to be met with frequently, that with which it opens—"Oh, what a parting is this!" &c.—being apparently particularly popular in the 8th century.

5. *Miscellaneous.* The first entry relegated to this category relates to a publication affecting Christian Egypt, though not connected with Coptic literature. From a MS. of the 12th or 13th century Mr. G. Margoliouth has edited²⁰ a unique liturgy which he attributes to the Melkite or Catholic community, now extinct—at least in its historical form—but during certain periods a more or less weighty factor in Egyptian ecclesiastical politics. The liturgy claims considerable linguistic importance as being written in the little-known Palestinian Syriac. Its most remarkable section is for use during the summer rising of the Nile, and centres in the blessing of some river water, forming thus a sort of preliminary harvest festival. It is remarkable that neither the completely preserved Bohairic liturgies nor the extant Sa'idic fragments know anything of such a service, though it seems not impossible that some such festival was once known also to the Jacobites.

The other work to be noticed is the publication, by Dr. K. Reinhardt in the Ebers *Festschrift*,²¹ of an Arabic letter promulgated by a Coptic bishop of Bouit (perhaps the town near Siut, perhaps that near Behneseh), against those who, by the use of magical arts, had injured the health of one of his clergy. The document may be compared with the similar letter published by Steindorff in the *Zeitschrift*, Bd. xxx.

An advance copy of MM. Pleyte and Boeser's complete Catalogue of the Leyden MSS. was presented to this year's Oriental Congress in Paris. The work will be obtainable, it is hoped, early next year.

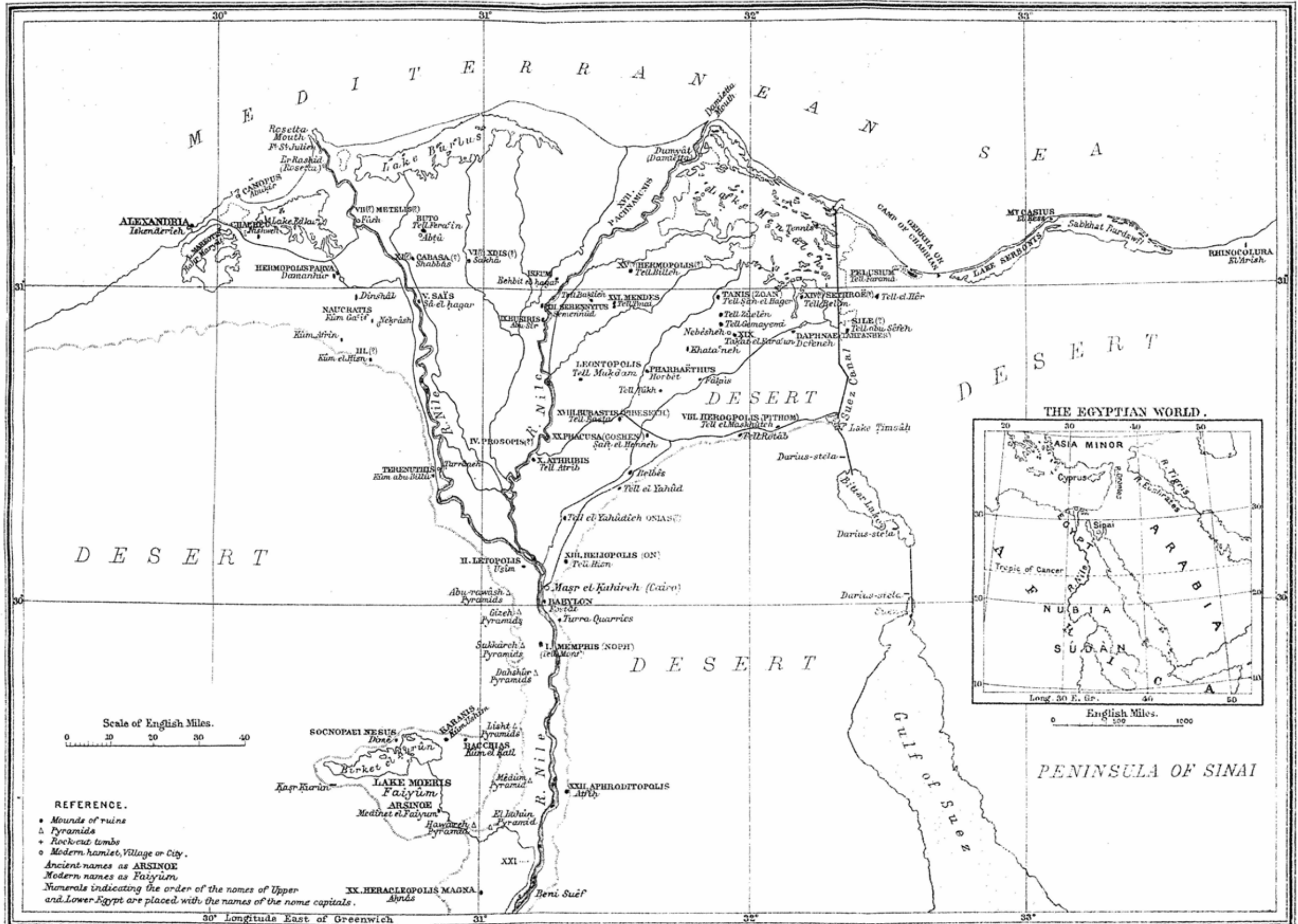
W. E. CRUM.

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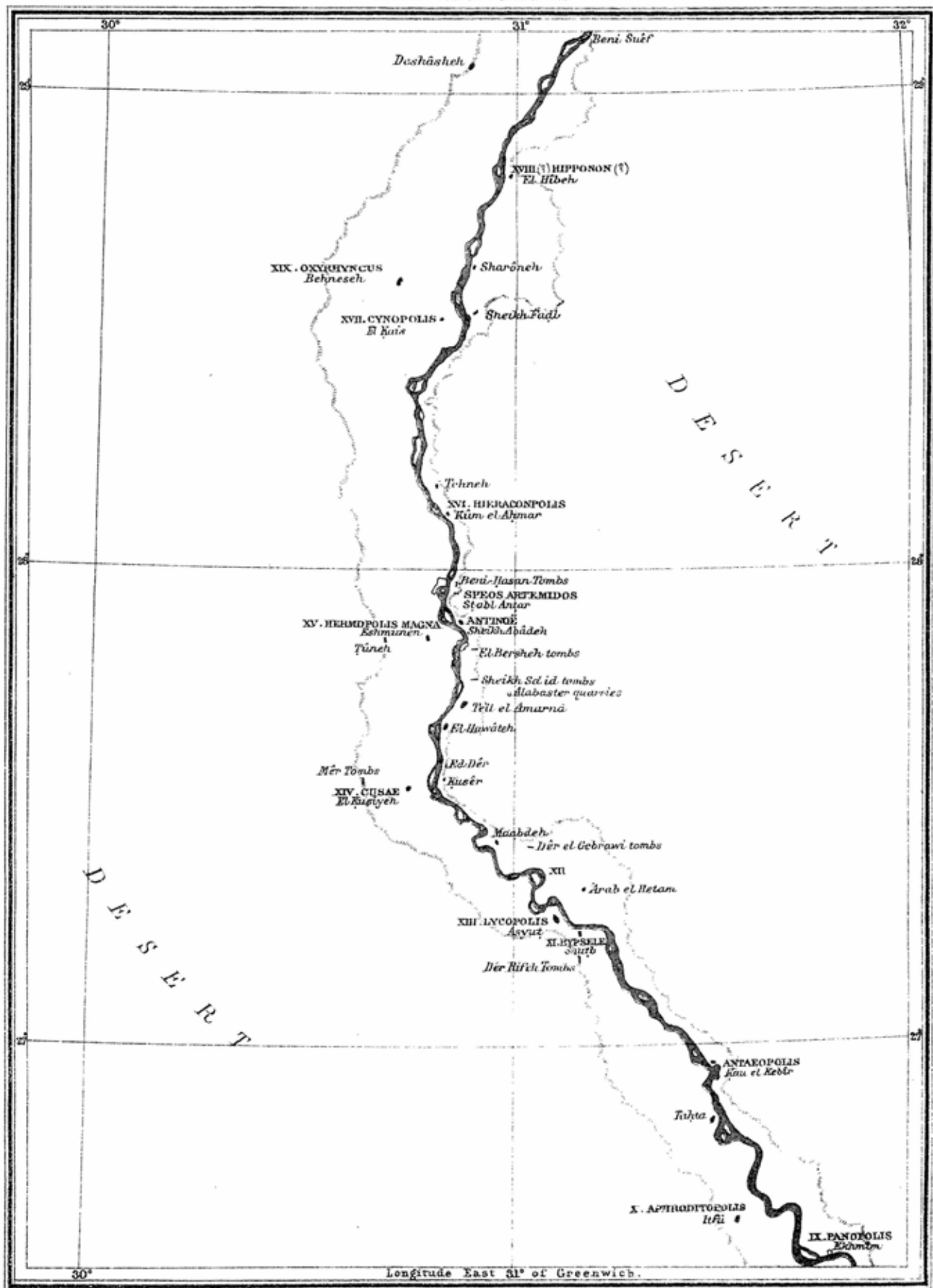
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MAP OF EGYPT I.



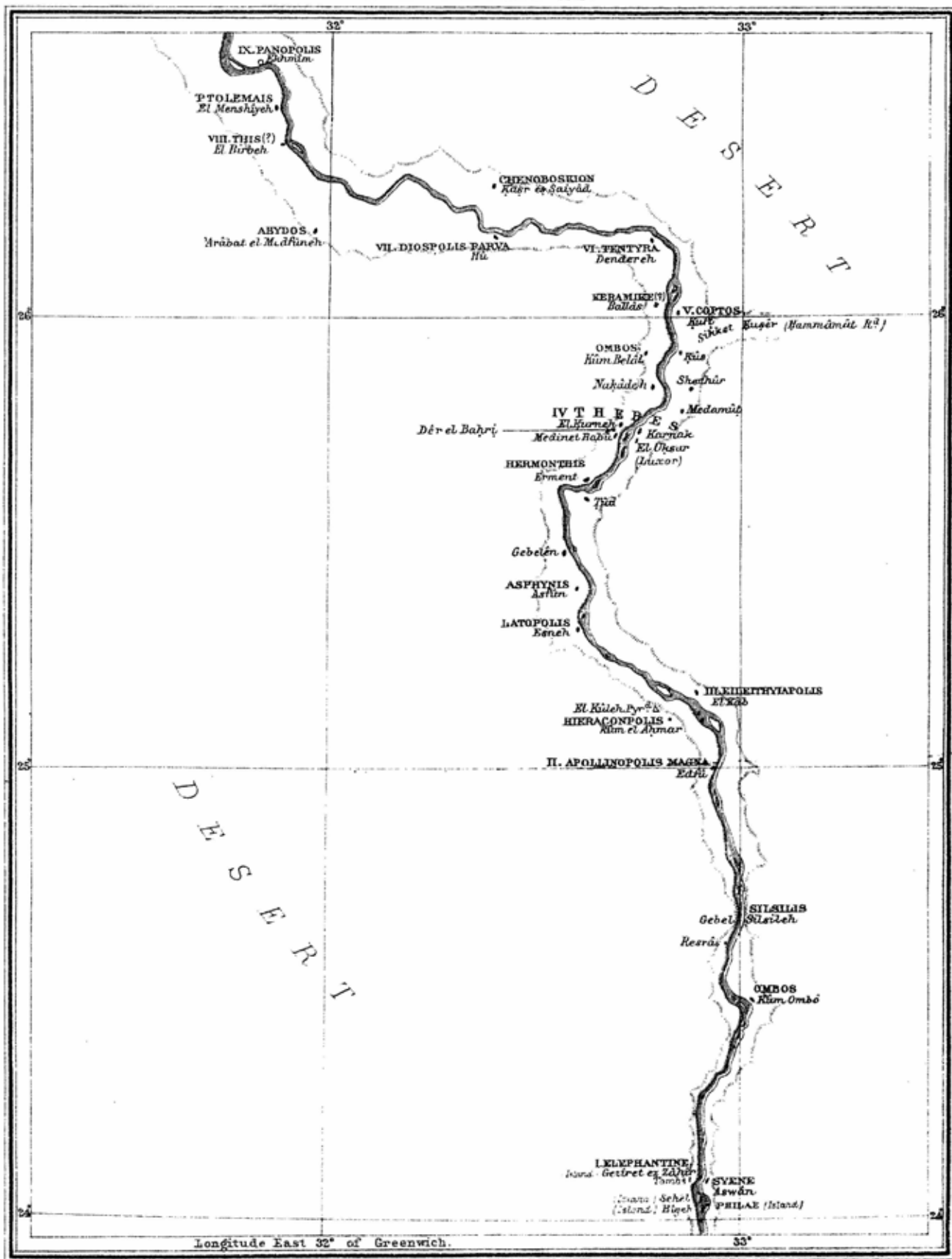
FROM THE DELTA TO BENI SUËF.

MAP OF EGYPT II.





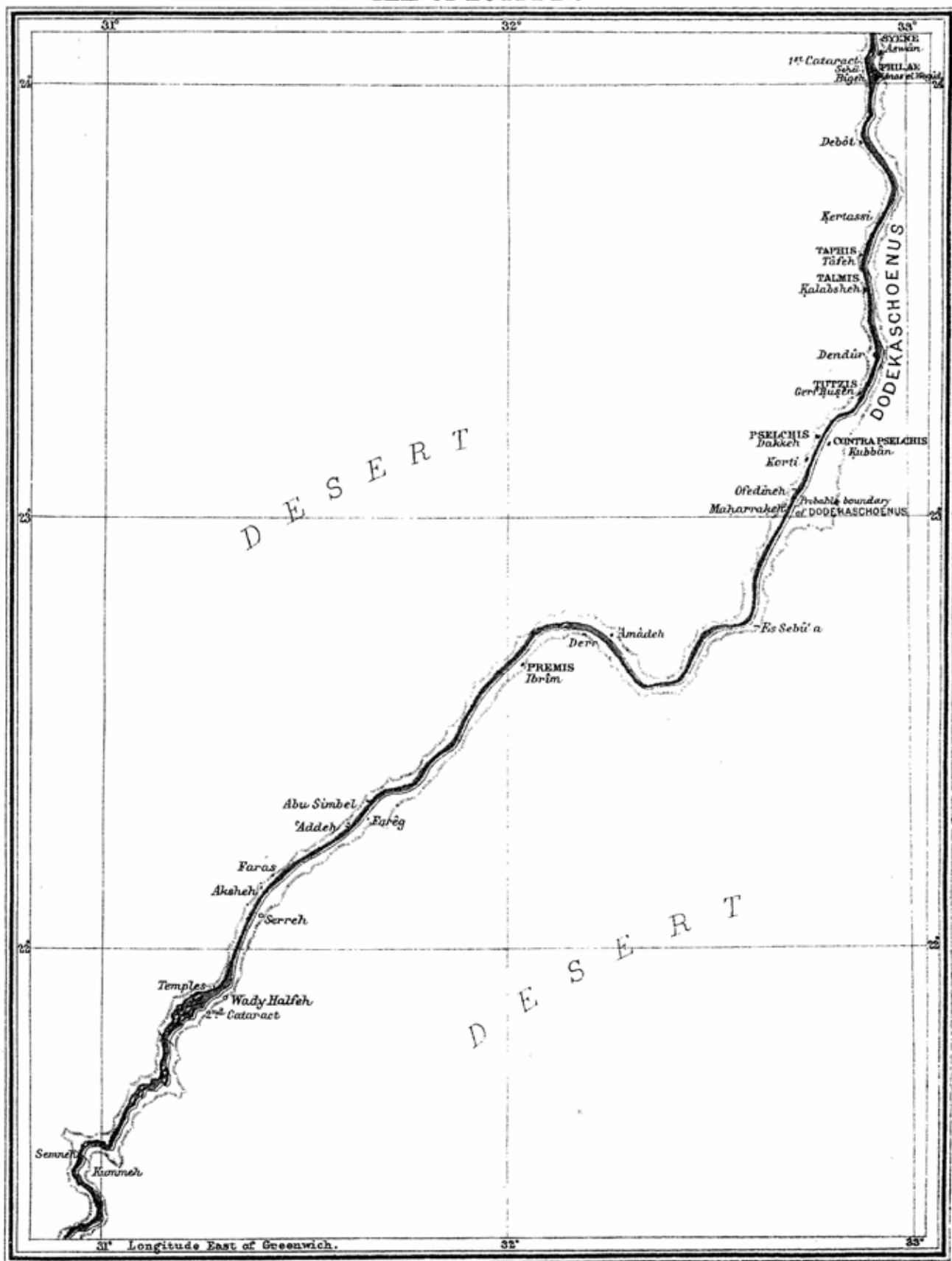
MAP OF EGYPT III.



FROM EKHIMM TO ASWAN.

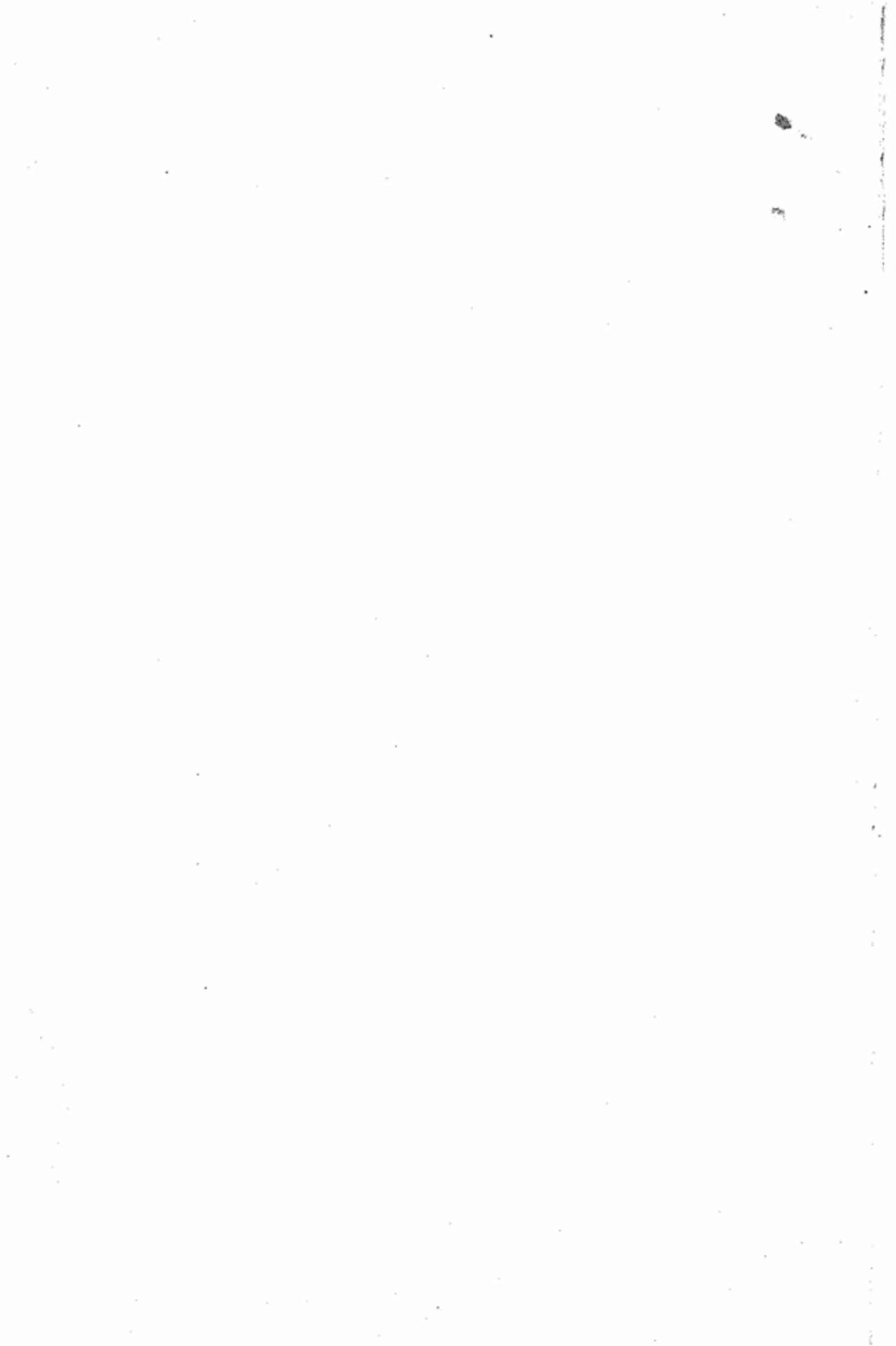


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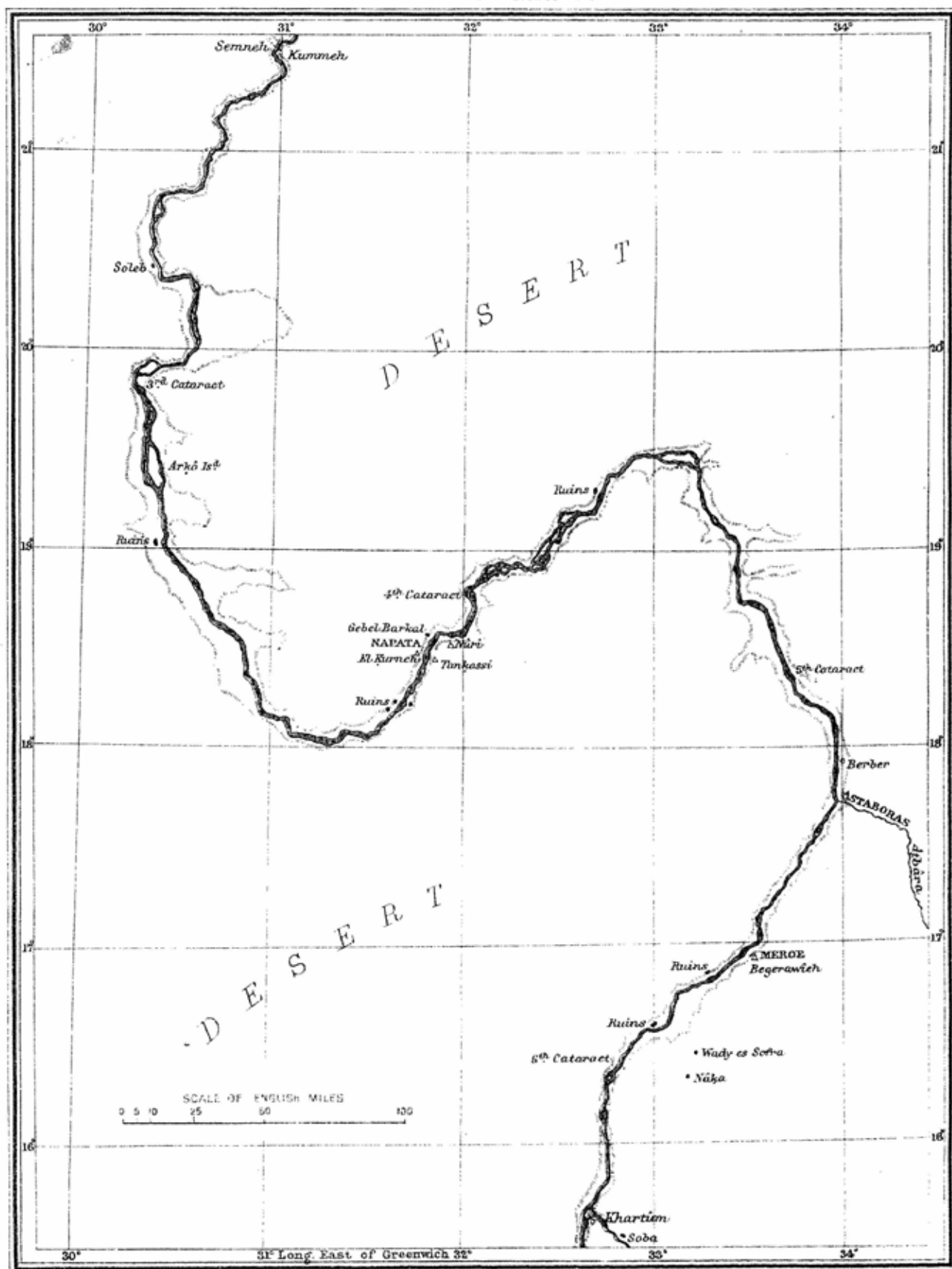


FROM ASWÂN TO SEMNEH.

Stanford's Geog. Atlas



MAP OF EGYPT V.



FROM SEMNEH TO KHARTUM

Stanford's Geog. Atlas

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